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THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

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THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JANUARY 1909.

AN UNCOLLATED MS OF JUVENAL.

(*Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 8072, ff. 94-113.*)

A PAGE of this MS, which however I discovered independently, is reproduced by M. Chatelain in his *Paléographie des Classiques Latins*, and for an account of the codex I refer to vol. ii. p. 11 of that work. The volume consists of four parts: (1) Juvenal, ff. 1-47; (2) Persius, ff. 48-59; (3) Horace, ff. 60-93; (4) Juvenal, ff. 94-113. This last part contains Sat. i. 1-ii. 66, iii. 32-vi. 437, i.e. two intermediate leaves, the two outside double leaves of the first quire of eight, of 34 lines on a page, have been lost. The quires b and c are disordered. Foll. 94^v-97 contain i. 1-ii. 66, ff. 98-105, v. 98-vi. 437, ff. 106-113, iii. 32-v. 97.

The MS is written in a variety of hands of the 10th century, 34 lines on a page, without scholia and without titles to the satires. It is curious that this fragment of the uninterpolated tradition as well as P, Montpellier 125, may have belonged to Pithou.

No collation of this important fragment of the uninterpolated tradition has yet been published, nor has any use been made of it in any edition of Juvenal; but when I subsequently went to consult P in the light of this MS, I found that M. Nougaret, Professor at the College of Perpignan, who is engaged in a study of P, and to whose kindness and assistance I am much indebted, has known this MS for many years, and it was, I believe, he who first discovered this fragment and brought it under the notice of M. Chatelain.

The collation which follows was made with Bücheler's edition of 1893. I have not noted some slight differences in spelling, but on the other hand I have expressly noted many readings which agree with the printed

text where this seemed desirable for establishing precisely the character of the MS. I had also before me throughout Prof. Housman's critical edition of 1905.

SATVRA I. 2 Codri. 3 togatas. 13 semper et: et *exp.*, ego *in sup.*, 1 m. 16 dedimus syllae. 21 uacat ac. 24 patrios omnes. 25 iuuenis. 26 canobi. 34 *fol. 95.* 35 quem munere palpat. 38 noctibus. 44 lugdunensem. 45 siccum. 46 comitum *om.*: *add. in sup. 1 m.* premit. 47 prostrantis at hic. 52 heracleas: 1 m. *in sup.* herculeias. 55 sit capiendi. 63 nonne. 65 atque. 67 falsi. 68 fecerit. 70 rubeta. 73 parcere. 83 paulatimque. caluetur. 85 timor *habet.* 86 n. f. libelli est. 89 ioculis. 90 at casum. 98 ac falso. 99 accipiās: *corr. 1 m.* a preto reuocari 102 *fol. 96.* 102 inquit ego. 106 purpura maior. 110 ne cedat. 113 pecua. 114 habitat. 115 pax firma fides. 126 quiescit. 131 meniere. 132 uestibulas. 134 caulis. 139 paratus: 1 m. *in sup.* uel parasitus. 143 crudus. 145 et noua. 146 iratus. 148 facient cupientque. 149 stetis. 150 dices. 152 liberes. 155 lucebis. 156 quae fixo pectore. 157 deducit. 158 uehatur. 159 despitia et. 161 uersum. 164 sequutus. 167 tacida. 168 irae. 169 animante tubas galea tum sero d. 170 *fol. 97.* 170 qui concedatur. 171 legitur.

SATVRA II. 1 hinc. 5 horum (est *om.*). 6 picta conemit. 7 archeti post pluteum: post *exp. 1 m.* 16 peribomius. 17 uultum. 19 peiores. 22 quod deterior. 24 non querentes: non *exp. 1 m.* 26 uerri. 30 reuocabat. 31 ipsis. 34 uitia omnia. 38 atque ita. 41 spiranto probalsama. 43 acture. 44 omnes d. cantinia respicere pr. 45 qui plura. 49 Media. 50 Hippo. 52 ullostrepido: o *in u corr. 1 m.* 60 erit—dormit. 61 nobe *in nube corr. 1 m.* 64 *om.*: *add. 1 m. in fine paginae, notisque in proprium locum reuocauit.* 65 sed quis. ii. 67—iii. 31 *desunt.*

SATVRA III. 32 *fol. 106^r.* siccandam luuiem. 34 hic cornicines—municipales. 36 nunc cedunt. 37 cum iubet. 38 poricas. 39 magna ad. 40 locari. 48 extinctae—dextrae. 49 non *in nunc corr. 1 m.* 58 nunc. 60 obstat. 61 quod a portio. achaeae. 65 prostrare [*vide i. 47.*] 67 trece dipna. 68 feret. 69 amicone. 75 putes. 77 macus. 78 iusseris. 79 in summa. 80 mediis et natus amoenis. 82 signabit—recumbet. 94 ait (*pro agit.*) nullo. 97 et tenui. 100 *fol. 107.* 101 conspexit 104 *habet.* 105 aliena. 109 sanctum nil ab ing. 112 auiam. 113 *habet.* 118 caualli. 121 patitur. 130 nec prior. 131 seruo. 133 catilinae. 134—167 *fol. 108^r,* 168—201 *fol. 107^r.* *Transpositionis notas, 31E, add. 1 m., et 1 m. ut vid. fol. 107^r in marg.* 'sequens pagina prima legenda est ita signata 31E postea leges istam.' *Fol. 108^r 31E.* 134 atque iterum. 136 chionem. 138 idae procedat. 141 quod p. s. quod possidet agri. 142 iugera *om.* quam magna multaque parapside. 147 locorum. 154 si p. est de se puluino. 156 ex fornice. 157 plaudit nitidi. 158 pennirapi c. iuuenes iuuenesque. 164 mergunt. optat. 167 *suo loco habet.* 168 necabis. 171 inquam. 177 similesque. 182 ambitiosi. 185 ueiento. 186 barbas—amatum. 187 libris—accipite istud. 188 praestare. tributa *om.* 190 quid timet—ruina. 192 cabiis—arce. 193 mos urbem colimus t. tibicine. 197 est *om.* 199 ucale contabulata. 202 *fol. 108^r* [*vide Chatelain.*] 203 Codro P. m. u. sex *om.* 204 abagi. 205 eodem marmore chiro. 207 opifici. 210 est *habet.* frustra. 211 iuuabat. 212 asturici. 214 tum. 215 accurrit. 217 preclarum. poluclyti. 218 haecasianorum. 224 paratur. 226 mouendis. 227 defunditur. 229 dare *om.* pittagoreg. is: g *exp. 1 m.* 232 eger—ipsum. 234 que mer. 235 urbem. 236 *fol. 109.* morbi prae clarum. 237 inflexu et tantis conuitia. 238 druso. 240 superiora liburna. 241 uel dormit et intus. 243 obstat. 246 altera hic tignum capit incutit: *post altera, t fortasse erasum, sed incert. an rasura.* 250 sequitur *om.* 251 totuosa. 255 serra conueniente. 259 e. 262 unclis. 263 strigilibus et. cuto. 265 teatrumque. 266 portamea. 269 cerebro. 270 tecta. 271

cadant (*fortasse ex cadunt*). quanta. 273 improbidus. 274 quod illa. 275 praetereunt fen. 278 cicit. 283 quae coccina. 287 dispensio et tempore. 288 prohemia. 289 Rixa ubi tu, *i.e.* si est *om.* 293 conche. 294 uerbecis. 298 tantum demes te ferunt. deidē. 300 pignis. 304 *fol. 110.* f. catenata est luit. 305 rem. 311 marra. 317 iādudū. 318 annuit. 319 refigi. 320 uestamque. 321 conuerte. 322 auditor.

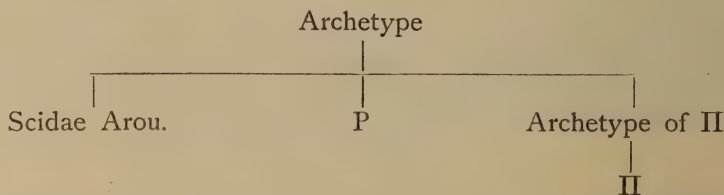
SATVRA IV. 2 patres. 3 aegre. fortes. 4 deliciae uiduas—spernatur. 5 qui refert. 7 quod [*sic semper*]. 8 n. magis felix minime c. 9 incestum—uitiata. 13 serioque. 15 multum. 16 equantum. 17 loquentur. 18 si. 25 pretio squamae. 28 quales. 31 ructarit. 33 facta. 34 licet et. 43 torrentis. 45 desinat. 47 litore. 49 *fol. 111.* 51 despastum. 53 palfyrosi. 59 uel urgeat. 60 suberat—dirutas er. uarent : *1 m. in sup.* uel. uent. 63 ut cessit. 65 Iturada tridentem. 67 saginam. 71 non possint—aequa. 72 mensura. 76 sedet arapta. 78 tum p. quorum opt. atque. 79 quamque. 80 temporibus quamque diris tractata. 81 iocunda. 83 terras—gerenti (*sed r incert.*). 85 afferre. 88 locuturi. 89 direxit. 92 octoginsima. 95 iam saeua. 96 tam festinata. 97 p. pars est et nobilitate. 98 gigantis. 99 misere. 100 numidos. 101 intellegit artos. 112 marmoream med. premia. 113 uellento. 114 uisa et flag. 117 *fol. 112.* 120 leuo. 121 beluas in p. 122 pecma. 123 uellendo. 124 percussus. 125 inquit. 127 excidet—berua. 128 in terga. 132 spatium colligat. 133 patine. 135 figuli. *Post 141 spatium unius uersus relictum est.* 142 strea. (*O om.*). *Sed spatium relictum est ut O magna forma insereretur, i.e. quasi nouam saturam induceret u.* 142. 143 echeni. 144 properes adhibere. 147 cathis—sicambris. 148 et. 149 precepit iuuenis sed ep. 154 madendi.

SATVRA V. 4 gabba. 8 uacat. 9 demedia. 10 possit. 12 quo tudis cumbere. 17 nec uacuo. 19 sonum. 21 p^{er}geret (=perregeret). 23 boetae. 24 quo. 27 mappa. 29 *fol. 113.* 38 aeliadum—berullo. 39 fiala tibi. 40 affixus. 41 acutos. 42 illi. 43 uirro et multi. 46 beneuentanis uotoris. 47 at iam. 54 nollis. 61 forma sed. 63 *post* 64 *habet.* rogatus. 65 recubas. 68 mucide; *sed -e ex parte erasum, ut vid.* 69 morsu. 70 fictus. 72 artopte—fingit amente. 75 planisque. 77 cucurrit. 80 distinguat pectori. 82 despitiat. 87 tibi cauculis olebit. 88 dabitur. quod *om.* 89 cannā hic ipsarum. 91 *om.* 95 ritibus. 96 patimur. 98 *fol. 98.* quod captatorem ad lenas. 104 glatie—tiberinis. 105 torrente. 107 se praebat. 110 et *ante* fascibus *om.* 112 genes. hoc facies esto. 114 magni te cur. 116 spumat—tradentur. 118 maior est tibi halie frum. 119 C libia edis iunge. 121 spectis. 128 sumit uetuis. 137 fratres. tamen *om.* 138 tunc fieri. 139 iusserat, *ut vid.* 140 figit uxor. 141 nunc migale. 142 semel. 146 portentur. 148 postquam nihil. 154 qui tegitur. 158 gyla. 161 videres conuiuia (*sic, expuncto e, 1 m.*). 163 coniecta. 166 *fol. 99.* canendi. 169 iacetis. Iuni Iuuenalis satirarum liber i. explicit | Incipit liber ii. feliciter.

SATVRA VI. 4 communi. 5 montanat horum. 7 haud similis. 8 turbauit. 9 manus. 13 compositi uelut o. 14 fastigia. 15 sed sub ioue et ioue. 18 et pomis. 22 fulcri. 25 et *ante* sponsalia *om.* 28 ducis. 29 thisipone, *ex* sithipone. quibus exagitare. 31 caligantesque. 34 *et* 35 pungio. 35 exigitate. 36 ne queritur. 40 multorum. 43 porrigit. 46 nimium. 50 Pauca eade doceris: d- *exp. 1 m.* 52 tende. 57 fidens. 58 nihil a. i. montibus atim. 59 *fol. 100.* 60 uoto. 62 possit. 63 mollibus. 64 tunc clausicae. 65 subito. 70 acne, *ut vid.*; -c- *aliquid erasum.* 71 risum nouet—atellana. 73 comoedia fibula. 77 ambrosiusque. 79 grandia ianua. 81 aut *om.* 82 eppia ludum. 85 sororis. 87 stupeas. 88 se quanquam. 91 apud. 93 egeum. 102 puppim. 103 iuuenta [*est om.*]. 104 eppia. 108 galea. 109 semper. 113 uegento. 114 eppia. 120 sed nigrum—galeno. 122 suam tunc. 123 prostitit. 126 *om.* 128 *fol. 101* habuit tamen. 129 rigida et entigine. 130 uires. 131 cenis. 136 censennia. 137 quingena. 138 lampada defert. 142 uibulae. 146 dicet. 152 sed habet. 153 quo iam—iason. 1 *obstat.* 158 dedit hoc. 159 nudo. 160 dementia. 166 feret. 167 uenusinam.

172 deponē. 176 gente. 177 niobene. 179 rari sumique. 183 diem. 187 mera cecropis. 192 tunc etiam—octogesimus. 196 fol. 102 inguem. 197 uttamen, *ex* uitamen. 207 summitte caput. 208 amanti. 209 ipse. 213 nollet: 1 *alterum exp.* 21 m. 214 excludatur. 219 seruus. 222 fecerit. 225 permutatque. 229 fiunt. *Post* 232 *spatium* 31 *versuum relinquitur.* Fol. 103, 233 *hic om. post* 251 *habet et not. add. qua suo loco ante* 234 *in initio pag. inseritur.* 235 tunc. 236 onerosque p. iacta. 237 et *habet.* 238 morae silet—ducit. 240 atque. 247 uel. 248 rudibus. 251 agit. 252 prestare. 256 manicae. 258 puella, *ex* puellas. 264 ridet. 270 cum. 271 gemitus. 272 ficta. 274 expectantibus. 276 tunc uruca. 277 lectura. 278 legantur—moechi. 280 dic a. s. hic. 282 possum. 285 de crimine. 287 prestabat. 288 sinebant. 290 *Inter manus et ac spatium II vel 12 litt. relictum est.* 292 *Inter mala et saeuior spatium 4 vel 5 litt.* 295 indos. 297 tarentus. 301 fol. 104. 304 uertice. 306 I nung^c et: g *in c corr.* 1 m. 307 *om.* 310 siphontibus implent. 316 ululantque priapi. 320 positas aut feta. 321 attollit. 322 fluctum. 323 palma aequa. 325 aequo (*pro* aeuo). 328 ac pariter toto—repetitus. 329 si dormit. 332 uenit et. 337 penen. 338 caesaris. 339 illud testiculis. inde. 341 figuras. 342 numinis *om.* 343 simpulum. numen nigrumque. 345 claudius. *Ante* 347 *notas habet quas non intelligo, sic* Pōne . . . ipso^s. prohibe. 349 ipsis (*pro* summis). 350 q^u=quae [*sic etiam* 406, 413]. 354 cui mandes mandata: *corr. in des* 1 m. 363 rediuius. 364 tollatur semper. 365 non numquam reputant q. sibi g. constant. *Post* 365 *nullum lacunae uestigium, sed uide ad* 232. 369 quod iam. 370 fol. 105. 371 spectatos. 372 bilibri. 373 dampno tantum. *uersus inter* 373 et 374 *non habet.* 379 si gaudet. 385 appe. 386 et farre. 389 stibus erga *om.* 393 nunc: *ex* dic *corr.* 1 m. 395 quod uideo. 402 fiet. 404 diripiat. 407 cometē. 409 niphatē. 410 arma. 411 nutare. 413 quae. 415 exorata. 426 urna. 428 rapidam. 429 et loto terram. 430 aurata. 433 nausiat. *Post* 437 (*in fine fol. 105^v*) *deficit.*

The most obvious importance of this MS, which I propose to call II, is, that it establishes with certainty the original reading of P in a great number of cases, where owing to correction this is no longer legible. The question at once arises whether II is a copy of P or an independent MS derived from the same archetype. Let me state at once that the relationship of the two MSS appears to be as follows:



- (1) Many of the peculiarities of II would be most improbable in a copy of P.
- (2) II does not share many of the peculiarities of P, e.g. i. 38, 85; iii. 167; vi. 237, 310, 328.
- (3) II often preserves peculiarities of the archetype more faithfully than P, e.g. iii. 141 quod . . . quod II, quot . . . quod P.
- (4) (a) II often agrees with S, the lemmata of the scholiast, against P; iii. 186 barbam P, barbas (*corr. in* barbam 2 m.), S barbas II; iv. 122 pecma IIS; v. 23 boetae II, boete S, bootae P.
 (b) II sometimes agrees with the substance of the scholia, Σ, against

both P and the lemmata ; iii. 211 iuuabat II, iuuabit P, tectoque iuuabit. suscepit S ; vi. 93 egeum II, igneum P (ionium p), id est de tyrreno ad adriacum et de adriaco ad egeum transitura erat S ; vi. 264 et ridet II, et ride P. Et ride positis scaphium. et cum posuerit arma post meditationem, et ut ceperit uas ut bibat, ridet¹ S.

- (5) Lastly in P, vi. 251 is the last line of a page, fol. 34^v. Now in II vi. 233, which is omitted from its proper place, follows line 251 in the middle of a page. It is therefore practically certain that the archetype of II was a MS of similar paging to P and Arou., but in which l. 233 having been omitted from its proper place was naturally added as the last line of the page, with the necessary marks to show its place of insertion. Since therefore there are many indications that the archetype of P did not have 29 lines to a page, it seems probable that the immediate archetype of II was brother to P, and that II itself is nephew.

In establishing the importance of II as a witness to the text of Juvenal, it is obvious that the points of greatest significance are the peculiar agreements of II with the scholia Σ. But I should like further to draw attention to the following points :

- i. 2, Codri II ψ (the interpolated MSS), Cordi PSΣ ; iii. 134 atque iterum II ψ, aut iterum P ; 157 plaudit II *et alii*, plaudat P ; vi. 153 iason II ψ, iasum P ; 238 morae II ψ, mora, ut vid., PS ; 415 exorata II ψ, exortata P.

Lastly, are we to see in the space of 31 lines which is left vacant after vi. 232 a trace of the lacuna filled by the Oxford fragment ?

Deliberate interpolation in this MS is very rare. I have noted the following apparent instances, and these only :

- i. 115 pax firma fides.
- iv. 8 Nemo magis felix II, Nemo maius² f. PS, malus Σ.
- iv. 144 properes adhibere II, exhibere P.
- vi. 372 bilibri II, bilibros P.

It is doubtful whether the reading vi. 285, de crimine, is an interpolation or a genuine tradition. More probably it is the former.

II.

If there were published an accurate account of the readings of P, not much more would remain for me to say. But Bücheler's account as given in his edition of 1893 is sadly incomplete and inaccurate, and though some of the omissions can be supplied from Jahn, it will only be when

¹Not *ride* as in Bücheler.

²Maius, *not* malus, is the reading of the first hand.

M. Nougaret publishes his very thorough and excellent work on this MS that the readings of P will be certainly known. Meanwhile I think it is worth while and almost necessary for me to correct Bücheler's account of P where his omissions or errors obscure its relation to II. These excerpts will eventually have additional value as the evidence of a third person by which the comparative merits of M. Nougaret's and Bücheler's collations can be judged. I shall not here repeat those very important corrections which I have already found it necessary to make.

SATVRA I. 13 semper et: 2 m., *ut uid.*, in marg. ego. 35 palpat *postea add.* 1 m. altera pluma. 38 nontib. 47 et hic: 2 m.(?) in sup. at. 73 parcere, 1 m. 90 at casum, 1 m. 106 purpura ma-or, 1 m. 152 liberes, *ut uid.* 1 m. 161 uer-um, *ut uid.* uersum, 1 m. 167 tacida. 169 animante tubas: o in sup. additum et erasum. 171 legitur, 1 m.

SATVRA II. 1 hic in hinc corr. 1 an 2 m. incert. 7 archetypus-pluteum (t erasum). 16 peribomius: i in sup. 1 m. 34 ultima: in ras. 2 m. 41 spiranto p-obalsama. 44 cantinia, 1 m.; scantinia, 2 m. 52 Nouimus, 1 m. ullos trepitu, 1 m. 65 qui: d in ras. 2 m.

SATVRA III. 34 municipales, 1 m. 36 nunc cedunt, 1 m. 77 macus, 1 m. 78 sseris, i.e. iusseris, *ut uid.*, 1 m. 80 et *ut uid.* 1 m. 118 caualli, 1 m. 133 catilenae (l erasum). 138 idae, 1 m. 141 quod-agri [P], 1 m. 147 locorum, 1 m. 154 et de in ras. 2 m. *ut uid.* S dete in dese corr. 2 m. *ut uid.* sed incert. 171 inqua., 1 m. (m erasum). 187 accipi-et istud. 192 cabiis. 199 ucalecon tabulata. 204 abagi. 207 opi****: 2 m. in ras. zi. S Et diuina opifici. opizin greci dicunt etc. 226 mouendis. 262 unclis, 1 m. 263 strigilibus—cuto. S cuto. 270 te-ta. 273 improbidus. 274 quod. 275 praetereunt fenestrae, 1 m. et S. 278 c-cidit. 294 uerbecis. 298 tantum demest-feriunt. 319 refigi.

SATVRA IV. 3 aegr.: Lit. erasa incert. 5 qui refert, 1 m., quid, 2 m. 7 quod. 8 vide supra. 9 incestum, 1 m. 15 multum ex mullum, 1 m. *ut uid.* 60 seruatur in ras. 1 m. et post t ras. 2 uel 3 litt. 71 aequa.: S aequae potestas. 76 sedit rapta (1 lit. erasa). 83 terra^s: s add. in sup. 1 m. 88 locuturi.: non s sed interpunctionis lineolam post i erasam esse opinor. 99 misero.: interpunctio non littera post o erasa. 101 intelligat ex intelligit: corr. 1 m. *ut uid.* 112 marmorea.: m *ut uid.* erasum. 114 uisa-fflagrabit: uisa in uisae corr. 2 m. 124 percussu^s: s add. in sup. 1 m. Post 141 non uersus, sed titulus erasus. Reliquiae quadrant cum De cenis contumeliosis [vide Housman, T]. 142 ostrea in ras. ex O****, 1 m. 143 echeni. 149 precipiti-uenisset.

SATVRA V. 19 sonum, *ut uid.*, 1 m. 21 per-egeter (non—it). 23 bootae P, boete S. 63 post 64 habet. 69 morsu, 1 m. 72 fingi-amen te, 1 m. 75 p-anisque, 1 m. 80 pectori, 1 m. 82 despici-at: lit. erasa incert., fortasse u. 87 cau-lis. 88 quod om. add. 2 m. 95 ritibus, 1 m. 112 genes, 1 m. 114 iecur, ex tecur. 118 maiores-tibi haue. 119 o libiae disiunge. 139 iuserat, *ut uid.* 1 m. 140 faigit [P], *ut uid.* 1 m. 154 tegi^{tur}: tur add. in sup. 1 m. 166 canendi, 1 m.; cenendi, 2 m.; cenandi, 3 m.

SATVRA VI. 5 montanatorum: h in sup. 1 m. 7 aut: h in sup. 1 m. 9 manus, 1 m. sed altera pluma. 15 sed sub ioue et ioue, 1 m. 29 thisipone: quibus add. in sup. 1 m. 35 ex-git.: non amplius 2 litt. eras., 1 uel 2 m. ex-git a te. 50 paucaeade-ocereris. 64 tucclausicae. 71 nouet, 1 m. 73 comoedi.: a erasum. 93 vide supra. 113 uelento. 120 sed, 1 m.; et 2 m. *ut uid.* aleno P, galeno S. 129 rigida-entigine, 1 m. 131 cenis,

1 m. 138 lampade 1 m.; lampadae feruet, 2 m. 192 tunc, 1 m. 196 inguem, 1 m. 197 uttamen *ex* uitamen [?], 2 m. 236 onerosa • que P; oneros atque pallia iactat S. 264 *vide supra*. 343 nume • nigrumque. 345 claudius, 1 m. 433 nausiat, 1 m.

It seems to me worth while to conclude this article by noting a few instances where I have found the critical notes of Prof. Housman's edition of 1905 incorrect on the readings of MSS other than P. His authorities are, I fancy, mainly to blame.

Introd. p. ix, Florilegia Parisina 7646. The number is apparently wrong, nor did I succeed in identifying the MS referred to.

Sat. iv. 25, Paris 9345, precium (*not* pretio).

vi. 285, Paris 7906, a crimine (*not* e crimine).

vii. 157, Paris 7906. The piece of the MS which would contain the word '*uelint*' is now absent, owing to damage by fire. It is almost impossible that this loss has taken place since Forster's collation.

viii. 148, Vaticanus 2810, multo sufflamine (*not* sufflamine multo).

viii. 229, Paris 9345, menalippes; vel pi [*in sup.*] (*not* melanippes).

Lastly, in Sat. vii. 156, Ottobonianus 2884, Barberinus viii. 18, and Casanatensis A. v. 27, all read 'diuersa fronte,' which, as accounting for the readings both of P and of ψ , seems to me probably correct.

C. E. STUART.

THE NOMINATIVE AND DATIVE-ABLATIVE PLURAL OF *DEVS* AND *MEVS* IN PLAUTVS.

IN *Hermathena*, vol. xiv., pp. 338-359, Professor Charles Exon attempts to prove that the nom. and dat.-abl. pl. of *deus* were disyllabic in Plautus.¹ The argument upon which he lays most stress is briefly this: Plautus uses iambic words shortened by the law of *breves breviantes* in the thesis (*i.e.*, the accented part of the foot) of iambic and trochaic verse about twice as often as he does in the arsis, whereas the long monosyllable *cor* occurs in dialogue with equal frequency in both parts of the foot. In this respect the nom. pl. of *deus* agrees with the shortened iambi, and should therefore, he thinks, be considered one of them.

Unfortunately Professor Exon contented himself with the examination of the 18 occurrences of the nom. of *cor*, only 9 of which appear in the thesis. By adding to these the examples from Plautine dialogue of the acc. of *cor*, of the monosyllabic cases of *aes*, *bos*, and *crus*, and of the adverb *cras*,² we get a total of 81 instances, of which 52, or 64 per cent., occur in the thesis. A tendency to use monosyllables about twice as often in the thesis as in the arsis is not so 'inexplicable' as Professor Exon thinks (p. 351). It is due to the fact that long syllables in general are about twice as frequent in that part of the foot, or, in other words, to the fact that, after all, Plautine verse is rhythmical. It must not be supposed, however, that all long monosyllables are subject to such a tendency; many unemphatic words, such as *et*, *est*, *aut*, naturally tend to be placed in the arsis. At any rate, the behavior, in this respect, of the group of long monosyllables examined is practically the same as that of shortened iambic words: both occur about twice as often in the thesis as in the arsis. This line of argument, therefore, cannot help us to decide to which group the nom. and dat.-abl. pl. of *deus* belong.

That they were really monosyllables is shown, I think, by the fact that all iambic words must frequently be read in Plautus with full trimoric value, whereas it is never necessary to read the nom. and dat.-abl. of *deus* in that way—at least in passages where the reading is clear. Professor Exon tries to minimize the force of this consideration by showing that the undoubtedly disyllabic acc. pl. *deos* departs nearly as far from the normal behavior of iambic words as do the cases under discussion. Other iambic words, he says, must count as such in about 77 per cent.

¹I have discussed this point in my dissertation, entitled, 'Contraction in the Case-forms of the Latin *io* and *iā* Stems, and of *deus*, *is* and *idem*,' Chicago, 1902, and the following remarks are merely supplementary to what I have said there.

²See references in Lodge, *Lexicon Plautinum*, s.vv.

of their occurrences, *deos* in 7 per cent., and the nom. pl. of *deus* in about 2 per cent.

In the first place, this statement of the case is not quite exact. We must remember that in the three places where Professor Exon thinks that 'the nom. pl. of *deus* is necessarily scanned as a disyllable' the manuscript reading is *di*, for which *diui* is as easy an emendation as *diei*, the reading which he prefers. But, granting that he is right about these three places, 3 is not quite 2 per cent. of 290,¹ the total number of instances of the nom. pl. of *deus* in Plautus. Again, we ought to include the 25 occurrences of the dat.-abl.—all of them dimoric—since the argument is supposed to hold for these cases too. The true ratio of the trimoric instances to the total, then, is rather less than 1 per cent.

Professor Exon recognizes only 4 certain instances of *deos* with full iambic value (*Cas.* 670, *Rud.* 191, *Ba.* 387, *Cist.* 242). To these should certainly be added *Poen.* 950:

Deós deasque uéneror qui hanc urbém colunt.

Professor Exon seriously overstates his case when he refers to this as a line 'which it is generally agreed should be altered.' The reading given above, which is found both in the Palatine manuscripts and in the Ambrosian palimpsest,² is accepted without question by Goetz and Loewe in their editio maior, by Goetz and Schoell in the smaller Teubner text, by Leo, by Lindsay, and by Lodge in his *Lexicon Plautinum*. As far as I can discover, the only scholars who have wanted to emend the line are Studemund, Abraham,³ and Exon himself. Abraham and, I suppose, Studemund object to the iambic *deos* because this is the only place where the word forms the first foot of an iambic line. Such a consideration, of course, cannot outweigh the manuscript authority which we have quoted above. As a matter of fact, lines which open with an iambic word plus an amphibrach are comparatively rare.⁴ Plautus, however, introduces seven other lines in the same way. I quote two of them:

Pers. 352

Feránt eantque máxumam malám crucem.

Pers. 369

Maló cauere méliust te. At si nón licet.

The other examples are *Aul.* 75, *Ba.* 883, *Ep.* 42, *Ps.* 1078, *Rud.* 324.

Iambic *deos* in *Rud.* 6 is rejected by Professor Exon because it stands in a prologue. No account is taken of the fact that the prologue of the *Rudens*

¹It is possible that Professor Exon meant to include his conjectural restoration of *diei* for *di* in *Ps.* 767 and for *diui* in *Aul.* 50; 5 is about 2 per cent. of 291 (*Ps.* 767 is, of course, included in the 290 instances mentioned in the text). It should be clear to every one, however, that such uncertain conjectures cannot be admitted in evidence.

I have previously (*l.c.* p. 19) given the number as 287. Now, of course, I must include the three instances in which, for the sake of the argument, the reading *diei* instead of *diui* is granted.

²On the cogency of such a consensus of the two families of manuscripts see Lindsay, *Ancient Editions of Plautus*, p. 150.

³Abraham, *Studia Plautina*, p. 204, ascribes his emendation to Studemund without reference. I cannot find Studemund's treatment of the line. Did he make the suggestion in conversation or by letter?

⁴Klotz, *Altöromische Metrik*, p. 237, is wrong in thinking, apparently, that the opening of Ter. *Ad.* 392, *pudet pigetque*, is more usual than *minas decem* (*Ad.* 242), etc.

stands on a very different footing from that of most of the prologues. The burden of proof undoubtedly rests upon those who would reject it or any part of it, but Professor Exon dismisses it with five words. Dziatzko, *Rh. Mus.* xxiv. pp. 570-584, demonstrated the genuineness of parts of it.¹ Marx, *Greifswalder Programm*, 1892/93, argued that the first section (ll. 1-31) is from an Attic source and therefore, of course, Plautine.² The prologue of the *Rudens* begins as follows:³

- Qui géntes omnes máriaque et terrás mouet,
 Eiús sum ciuis cluitate caelítum.
 Ita sum út uidetis spléndens stella cándida,
 Signúm quod semper témpore exoritúr suo
 5 Hic átque in caelo. nómen Arcturóst mihi.
 Noctú sum in caelo clárus atque inté deos,
 Intér mortalis ámbulo intérdius.
 Et ália signa dé caelo ad terram áccidunt:
 Quist ímperator díuom atque hominum Iúppiter,
 10 Is nós per gentis áliud alia dísparat,
 Qui fácta hominum, móres, pietatem ét fidem
 Noscámus, †ut quemque ádiuuet opuléntia.
 Qui fálsas litis fálsis testimóniis
 Petúnt quique in iure ábiurant pecúniam,
 15 Eorúm referimus nómina exscripta ád Iouem.
 Cotídie ille scít quis hic quaerát malum.

Lines 6 and 7 were suspected by Marx (*l.c.*) because they are inconsistent with his understanding of *hic* in line 5 as equal to *in scaena*. Leo included line 8 within the brackets. And, indeed, consistency required that he should do so, for the *ad terram* of line 8 goes no better with his and Marx' understanding of *hic* than does the *inter mortalis* of line 7.⁴ But if line 8 is rejected, *nos* in line 10 is extremely harsh, and with line 10 we have to throw out the entire passage about Jupiter's detective and judicial system (ll. 6-31). All this really constitutes a powerful argument in favor of interpreting *hic* in line 5 as *in terra*—an interpretation which its obvious antithesis to *in caelo* might have suggested at the outset. There is, then, no reason at all for suspecting line 6.⁵

Accordingly there are 6 cases of trimoric *deos* in Plautus out of a total of 58, or a trifle more than 10 per cent. The percentages that are to be compared are 1 for the conjectural trimoric nom. and dat.-abl. pl., 10 for *dēōs*, and 77 for other iambic words.

¹ Cf. Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen*, pp. 191 f.

² So I gather from Leo, *l.c.*, p. 192. I have not seen Marx' article.

³ The text is that of Goetz and Schoell.

⁴ I am not sure that this was Leo's reason for condemning the line. In his note he refers to Dziatzko (*l.c.*), who objected to the verse because

accidunt stands where we should expect *descendant*. Professor Knapp calls my attention to the use of *accido* in the same sense in Lucr. iv. 215 and Caes. *B.G.* iii. 14.

⁵ This line of argument was suggested by my colleague, Professor Charles Knapp.

It is still quite true that the behavior of *deos* is very different from that of other iambic words. Of that curious fact, however, Professor Exon has suggested a very interesting explanation (pp. 355 ff.). The only point with which we are now concerned is that the marked difference between the behavior of the nom. and dat.-abl. pl. of *deus*, on the one hand, and of the acc. pl. on the other, has so far been explained in only one way: viz., by the hypothesis that the former were monosyllables. In the absence of conflicting evidence that hypothesis will have to stand, and editors will continue to emend to *diui* rather than to *dēi* or *diei* where either word is metrically possible.

We have noticed incidentally that Professor Exon assumes as the disyllabic nom. and dat.-abl. pl. of *deus* a form with *ī* in the penult. This sound, he thinks (p. 341), had by the time of Plautus developed from *ē* in the nom. and dat.-abl. pl. of all *eo-* stems: *meus*, for example, made in the nom. pl. *miei* (i.e. *miē*), and in the dat.-abl. pl. *mieis* (i.e. *miēs*).¹ We are not now concerned with the pre-Plautine history which Professor Exon assumes for these forms. Their history after Plautus he gives as follows: 'When final *-ei* became *-ī* (about 150 B.C.), *miei* and *mieis* became *miī* and *miīs* respectively, and at once suffered contraction into **mī* and **mīs*. But the analogy of *meus*, etc. restored *e*, and the case forms of *meus* became what they were in classical times.'

As evidence for his early forms, *miei*, *mieis*, etc., Professor Exon cites *abiegnieis*, *mieis*, *iei*, and *ieis*, from early inscriptions, and the manuscript spelling *mieis* at Plautus, *Men.* 202. All these epigraphical forms, however, stand in inscriptions of later date than 150 B.C.; they come from a time when, according to the sentences just quoted from Professor Exon himself, the nom. pl. of *meus* could be only *mī* or *meī*.² As I have shown (*l.c.*, pp. 7 f.) that the spelling IEI was sometimes used for the sound *ī* during the last century and a half of the republic, and as there is no reason to suppose that it could be used with the value *ēī*, there can be no doubt about its meaning here. The manuscript spelling *mieis* should, of course, be referred to the period to which the analogous epigraphical forms are known to belong. There is, then, no evidence that Plautus knew any such forms as *miei* and *mieis*.

Professor Exon would probably reply that no objective evidence is needed. There is ample proof in Plautine verse that the monosyllabic nom. and dat.-abl. pl. of *meus*, which Professor Exon and I both assume for some period before Plautus, had been largely supplanted by some sort of disyllabic forms. These must have been either *meei* and *meeis* or *miei* and *mieis*.

¹ This part of Professor Exon's article (pp. 341 ff.) is an amplification of an earlier discussion of the *eo-* stems in *Hermathena*, xiii. pp. 149 f.

² On page 340 Professor Exon says it is by no means sure that *ei* after *i* became *ī* at about 150 B.C.

But everywhere else in the two articles he assumes the change, and its reality is proved by the contracted forms *floui*, *controuersis*, *Ianuaris*, *Veituris*, and *Vituris* in the inscription *C.I.L.* i. 199 of 117 B.C.

But, it may be argued, *meei* and *meeis* could no sooner be restored than they would again suffer contraction.

My answer is that there is no reason for assuming that the sound law which at some early date led to the contraction of *meei* was still operative in the time of Plautus. We know that the sounds *ě* and *ē* (written *ei*) of Plautus' day actually did, within fifty years after his death, become decidedly different from each other (*ě* and *ī* respectively); it is altogether likely that their divergence had already gone far enough to prevent contraction, and thus to make possible the restoration of the form *meei*.

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NOTE ON PLATO, *PHILEBVS* 31 C.

IN 23 C foll. Socrates distinguishes four kinds of existences, τὸ ἄπειρον, the unlimited; τὸ πέρασ, the limit; τὸ μικτόν, the result of a combination of the two, and ἡ αἰτία τῆς μίξεως, that which is responsible for combination. He then assigns ἡδονή to the ἄπειρον, on the ground that it admits of τὸ μᾶλλον τε καὶ ἥττον, while νοῦς is shown to be akin to the αἰτία (27 E f., 30 E f.). In 31 B Socrates proceeds thus: Δεῖ δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, ἐν ᾧ τέ ἐστὶν ἐκάτερον αὐτοῖν καὶ διὰ τί πάθος γίγνεσθον, ὁπόταν γίγνησθον, ἰδεῖν ἡμᾶς· πρῶτον τὴν ἡδονήν· ὥσπερ τὸ γένος αὐτῆς πρότερον ἐβασανίσαμεν, οὕτω καὶ ταῦτα πρότερα.

It is clear from this passage that the inquiry as to the class to which pleasure belongs is now superseded by the question 'Wherein has pleasure its existence, and as a result of what affection is it produced?' Hence Socrates proceeds to ask: Ἄρ' οὖν σοὶ καθάπερ ἐμοὶ φαίνεται τῆς γενέσεως αὐτῶν (is pleasure and pain) πέρι;

In 31 C Socrates states his own view: Ἐν τῷ κοινῷ μοι γένοι ἅμα φαίνεσθον λύπη τε καὶ ἡδονή γίγνεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν. Now this passage is generally taken to be a statement that pleasure belongs to the κοινὸν or μικτὸν γένος, and attempts have been made to explain the apparent inconsistency on the ground that whereas pleasure has hitherto been considered as an abstraction, it is now to be considered as a concrete fact, and as such properly belongs to the class of μικτά. In 41 D, however, pleasure is again distinctly referred to the class of ἄπειρα (Οὐκοῦν καὶ τόδε εἴρηται καὶ συνωμολογημένον ἡμῖν ἔμπροσθεν κεῖται; . . . Ὡς τὸ μᾶλλον τε καὶ ἥττον ἄμφω τούτῳ δέχεσθον, λύπη τε καὶ ἡδονή, καὶ ὅτι τῶν ἀπείρων εἴτην), and here it is obvious that Socrates is still dealing with concrete facts.

Moreover, in view of the context, the natural translation of the passage under consideration would be: 'Pleasure and pain alike appear to me to be naturally produced in the κοινὸν γένος.' The κοινὸν γένος will then be, not the class to which pleasure and pain belong, but the class which is subject to those πάθη which produce pleasure and pain.

It is next stated (31 D) that pain is produced by a disturbance of ἀρμονία ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις, while pleasure is produced by a restoration of ἀρμονία. Pleasure and pain, then, are produced in ζῶα, and it would seem that the class of ζῶα is the κοινὸν γένος referred to above.

The examples of the μικτὸν γένος hitherto given by Socrates have been of the type ὑγίεια, ἀρμονία, ὥραι, but it has been implied (26 D; 27 A, B)

that all *γινόμενα*, all natural objects, are *μικτά*; and in 32 A occur the following words: *σκόπει εἴ σοι μέτριος ὁ λόγος, ὃς ἂν φῇ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπείρου καὶ πέρατος κατὰ φύσιν ἔμψυχον εἶδος, . . . ὅταν μὲν τοῦτο φθείρηται, τὴν μὲν φθορὰν λύπην εἶναι, τὴν δ' εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν οὐσίαν ὁδόν, ταύτην δ' αὖ πάλιν τὴν ἀναχώρησιν πάντων ἡδονήν*. Here it is difficult to see to what, if not to the *ζῶον*, the *ἔμψυχον εἶδος*, clearly a *μικτόν*, refers.

The conclusion, then, is that in 31 C (*ἐν τῷ κοινῷ μοι γένηται κ.τ.λ.*) we have a partial answer to the first part of the question put forward in 31 B; in 31 D this answer is completed by the mention of the particular kind of *κοινὸν γένος*, viz. *ζῶα*, while the second part of the question is partially answered by the description of one class of *πάθη* which produce pleasure and pain. Finally in 32 A we have a re-statement of the answers already given to both parts of the question.

DORA MASON.

PLATONICA IX.

(Continued from Vol. II, p. 15.)

ΤΑ ΝΟΘΕΥΟΜΕΝΑ.

“ΟΡΟΙ.

412 B. ἐγκράτεια δύναμις ὑπομενητικὴ λύπης, ἀκολουθήσις τῷ ὀρθῷ λογισμῷ
ἀκολουθούσης δύναμις ἀνυπέρβλητος τοῦ ὑποληφθέντος ὀρθῷ λογισμῷ.

ἀκολουθήσις, which has most MS. authority, may very well be right, though it expresses an action or course of conduct rather than a condition of mind. But ἀκολουθούσα would seem possible. Is not some word lost parallel to ὑπομενητικὴ and governing the genitive τοῦ ὑποληφθέντος, e.g. ἀποτελεστική, which occurs a few lines below (φιλοπονία ἔξις ἀποτελεστικὴ οὗ ἂν προέλῃται)? The genitive has at present no construction.

Ib. D. ἐλευθεριότης ἔξις πρὸς τὸ χρηματίζεσθαι ὡς δεῖ πρόσθεσις καὶ κτήσις οὐσίας ὡς δεῖ.

Were πρόσθεσις right, only one part of liberality would be given, and that the less obvious part. Read πρόεσις, comparing Ar. *Eth.* 2.7.1107 b 12, 13, where πρόεσις and λήψις are contrasted in this matter.

Ib. E. μεγαλοπρέπεια ἀξίωσις κατὰ λογισμὸν ὀρθὸν τὸν σεμνότατον.

The latter words can hardly mean anything. Read τοῦ σεμνοτάτου, depending on ἀξίωσις.

Immediately below (under ἀγχίνοια) prefix ἐν to ἐκάστῳ. Cf. for instance Ar. *Eth.* 2.9.1109 a 24, where στοχαστική occurs just before.

413 A. ἀγαθὸν τὸ αὐτοῦ ἕνεκεν <αἵρετόν>?

Ib. B. αἵρεσις δοκιμασία ὀρθή <ἢ μὴ>? <ἢ ψευδής>? A αἵρεσις is not bound to be right, and the word came, as we know, to imply error. On the other hand, in C (ἀλήθεια ἔξις ἐν καταφάσει καὶ ἀποφάσει ἐπιστήμη ἀληθῶν) we seem to need the addition of ὀρθή to ἔξις.

Ibid. ὁμόνοια κοινωνία τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων συμφωνία νοημάτων καὶ ὑπολημμάτων.

τῶν ὄντων, which would mean *property*, is palpably wrong. τῶν ἐν νῶ ὄντων would make sense; or τῶν ὄντων may be a mistake for τῶν νοημάτων.

414 C. αἰσθησις ψυχῆς φορὰ νοῦ κίνησις ψυχῆς διὰ σώματος εἰσάγγελσις εἰς ὥρας ἀνθρώπων, ἀφ' ἧς γίγνεται ψυχῆς ἄλογος δύναμις γνωριστική διὰ σώματος.

εἰς ὥρας is not very intelligible, and there is good evidence against εἰς. Perhaps we should read εἰσάγγελσις φορᾶς and perhaps too ἀνθρώπων.

ΠΕΡΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ.

372 A. τὸ δίκαιον would hardly be defined as τὰ νομιζόμενα δίκαια. Should not the last word be omitted?

373 A. Greater and less are distinguished by measure (μέτρον) and μετὰ τοῦ μέτρον by the measuring art: light and heavy by weight (σταθμός) and μετὰ τοῦ σταθμοῦ by the weighing art: τί δὲ δῆ; τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ ἄδικοι τίνι σκοποῦντες διαγιγνώσκωμεν ὀργάνῳ; καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ὀργάνου τίνι τέχνη πρόσθεν;

I hardly know what the editors suppose πρόσθεν to mean, but it is tolerably clear that the real word was πρόσθες, *add, tell me also*.

374 B. οὗτος αἰιδός is not possible, though αἰιδός at the end of the dialogue is. We should add ὁ (perhaps in both places) or write αἰιδός. At the end of the περὶ ἀρετῆς read <τοῖς> κτωμένοις, the loss of τοῖς being possibly due to the -ται of the verb.

DEMODOCVS.

382 C. τῶν ἀνθρώπων δέ τινα (not τίνα) will suit τοῦτο ξυγχωρεῖν best.

Ib. D. ὑπάρχει should be ὑπάρξει, as μεταμελήσει shows. So in 383 E the repeated ἐμφανιοῦσι proves that we need λέξουσι. It is remarkable how blind editors always are to this most common error of MSS., the putting of presents for futures.

384 D E. Three times προσήκει might with advantage, I think, be turned into προσῆκεν; but none of the three cases absolutely requires it.

386 B. εἰάν οὖν τοῖς μὲν οἰκείοι ᾧσι, τοῖς δ' ἄγνωτες, πῶς οὐ δεήσει τοὺς αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον αὐτῶν (so Schneider for αὐτῶ) πιστοὺς νομίζειν; οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως πιστοὺς αὐτοὺς δεῖ νομίζειν τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ τοὺς ἄγνωτας.

I can make no sense of the central clause in this, πῶς οὐ δεήσει κ.τ.λ. Words such as πῶς οὐ δεήσει τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἦττον τοὺς δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν πιστοὺς νομίζειν; would be intelligible, though I am not sure about τοὺς αὐτοὺς

and αὐτῶν; or such as πῶς οὐ δεήσει αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν μᾶλλον τοὺς δὲ ἦττον πιστοὺς νομίζειν;

SISYPHUS.

387 C. ὥσπερ καὶ σὺ δεδοξασαι εὖβουλος εἶναι εἰς τῶν Φαρσαλίων.

Perhaps τις for εἰς. It is not meant that he is the only or the most sagacious citizen.

Ib. D. σχεδιάζοντα λέγειν ὅτι ἂν τύχη, εἰκάζοντα καὶ κατὰ ταῦτά αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀρτιαζόντες κ.τ.λ.

καὶ κατὰ ταῦτά αὐτῷ seems to need some addition to give it a sense. <χρώμενον> αὐτῷ?

388 B. The ἂν in ὥσπερ γὰρ ἂν is out of place. Read γὰρ δὴ, a common combination.

Ib. D. οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἐζήτει, ὅπου ἦν ἐξευρεῖν αὐτόν, εἰ ἦδει, ἀλλ' ἐξηῦρεν ἂν εὐθέως.

Here on the other hand we need ἂν with ἐζήτει, as with ἐξηῦρεν, and it must be inserted.

So again in 389 C ἄρά γε νομίζεις οἷόν τέ τι εἶναι ἀνθρώπῳ περὶ μουσικῆς βουλεύεσθαι . . . ὅπως ἢ κιθαριστέον εἴη αὐτῷ ἢ ἄλλο τι . . . ποιητέον, the optative εἴη shows that ἂν must have stood somewhere in the first clause (unless indeed we add it to εἴη itself); and in *Eryxias* 393 E ἔχουτ' ἂν εἰπεῖν μοι τί ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπῳ πλείστου ἄξιον κτῆμα; ἄρά γε τοῦτο ὃ κτησάμενος ἄνθρωπος ἄριστα βουλεύοιτο περὶ τούτου, ὅπως ἂν βέλτιστα διαπράττοιτο κ.τ.λ. it is required with ἄριστα (probably ἄριστ' ἂν) βουλεύοιτο. Perhaps it should also follow εὐπορίαν, *ib.* 392 D, but there it is not indispensable.

388 E. σκόπει δὴ, not δέ.

390 B. ἐδοκεῖτε . . . καθῆσθαι should be δοκεῖτε, *it seems to me you sat.*

Ibid. ταῦτα ἐμοί τε εἶναι πεπαιγμένα πρὸς σέ . . . σοί τε οὐκ ἐσπουδασμένως ἀποδεδείχθαι.

Surely ἀποδεδέχθαι, the rare passive use. Otherwise there is no new point in the clause, such as the antithesis of the two persons with τε and καί requires.

Ib. C. οὐδὲν ἐξευρίσκεται ἄλλο ὄν (τὸ βουλεύσασθαι) ἢ ὅπερ ἐπιστήμη τε καὶ εἰκασία καὶ σχεδιασμός.

ἐπιστήμη gives exactly the wrong sense as 387 E tells us *totidem verbis*, ὅπερ τὸ μὴ ἐπιστάμενόν τινα . . . διαμαντευόμενον καὶ σχεδιάζοντα κ.τ.λ. (quoted

above) and 388 A μηδὲν ἐπιστάμενον. As εἰκασία and σχεδιασμός are repeated from 387 E, so possibly ἐπιστήμη stands for μαντεία answering to διαμαντενόμενον, if the corruption is not more considerable.

Ib. D. Omit τε between αὐτοί and αὐτῶν. The repetition of ὥσπερ shows that οἱ τε ἄλλοι δημιουργοὶ ἅπαντες is the subject of διαφέρουσιν, and that there should be no comma after ἅπαντες.

ERYXIAS.

393 A. καὶ δοκεῖ καὶ ἔστι πλέον πάντων πονηρότατος ἢ ὅσῳ πλουσιώτατος, οὕτως ὥστ εἰ κ.τ.λ.

πλέον should certainly be πλεόνι (corresponding to ὅσῳ), and οὕτως, I think, τοσούτῳ, τος- having been absorbed in the ending of πλουσιώτα-τος.

394 E. ἢ τούτου μὲν καταφρονεῖν <οἷε> τοὺς ἀνθρώπους?

397 E. Omit ἀγαθόν after τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

401 B. οὐκ or ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι χρώμεθα seems needed.

402 A (init.). εἰ τι δεόμεθα, not δεοίμεθα, and D ἐκπορίζόμεθα.

402 C. As the text stands, Eryxias is made to say 'I am quite persuaded that what is useless cannot be money (οὐδὲ χρήματά ἐστιν) and that useful money is one of the most useful things for this purpose (καὶ ὅτι τῶν χρησιμωτάτων ἐστὶ πρὸς τοῦτο χρήματα τὰ χρήσιμα): but not that money is useless for practical purposes (τὸν βίον), as by its means we provide ourselves with things we want (τὰ ἐπιτήδεια).' The words in italics seem mere nonsense. What is *useful money*? what is *this purpose*? If too the sentence meant anything, it would simply anticipate 'but not that money is useless,' to which it is formally opposed. I can only infer that we must omit it, and am unable to suggest how it got in. It has no appearance of being a corruption of something else, nor can it be put later in the sentence without considerable changes.

403 E. The imperfect κατεχρῶντο is as inappropriate as ἐδοκείτε in *Sisyphus* 390 B above. What we want is the optative καταχρῶντο like ἐργάζονται two lines below.

αὐτῶν cannot be right either, as there is nothing for it to refer to. Perhaps αὐτοῖς, as we have just below αὐτοῖς οἷς (an inversion of order for οἷς αὐτοῖς) καταχρώμεθα, and 402 B οἷς μὴ αὐτοῖς χρώμεθα.

404 A. πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν ἐργασίαν is neither grammar nor sense. Read

τὴν αὐτήν, as in B and several other places. τὴν τούτων would not, I think, make sense. There is nothing τούτων could refer to.

Ib. E. ἐπιστήμην ἧ δύναιτο ἀκούειν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ οἶον τε. οἶον τ' <εἶναι>?

Ibid. φαίνοιτο γὰρ ἂν ἐνίοτε μοχθηρὰ πράγματα πρὸς ἀγαθόν τι χρήσιμον εἶναι· ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου ἂν φανερὰ γένοιτο.

Apparently the two adjectives have exchanged terminations. We want χρήσιμα and φανερόν.

405 B. After a remark made by Socrates we find instead of an answer or comment from Eryxias the strange words ἔφη γὰρ οὕτως, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ (quite unmeaning in the context), and then Socrates continues his argument. Does this not stand for the assenting οὕτω γὰρ, ἐφή, καὶ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ? ὥς and καί are liable to interchange. I doubt whether οὕτω γάρ, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ would be idiomatic. ὅσων ἄνευ μὴ οἶόν τε γίνεσθαι needs a τι after τε, as in 402 B. τοῦτο refers to it.

AXIOCHUS.

366 D. φράσαιμι ἄν σοι ταῦτα ἃ μνημονεύσω.

Probably ἄν for ἄ.

H. RICHARDS.

ENNIVS *ANNALES* 567 (VAHLEN).

THE line is preserved in a passage of Consentius 'De Barbarismis et Metaplasmiss' (Keil's *Gramm. Lat.* v. p. 400, 9): sicut Lucilius 'ore corrupto'; dempsit enim unam litteram per metaplasmm, r; et Ennius 'huic statuam,' etc.

I cannot emend the line, but I can give a fuller apparatus criticus for it than Vahlen's, having lately had an opportunity of looking at the two MSS. in which this treatise of Consentius is extant. The one (the only one known to Vahlen) is at Munich (lat. 1466), a ninth century MS., shewing Insular (Irish or English) influence (with h 'haec,' hnt 'habent,' hs 'huius,' etc.). The other (cf. Winstedt in *Amer. Journ. Phil.* xxvi. 22) is a Fulda MS. in Irish script of the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century, now in the University Library at Basle (F III. 15^d).

The Munich codex (M) writes the line like this:

huic statuam statui maiorum obatu athenis.

A corrector, who uses dark purple ink, has written above the *o* of *obatu* something which Vahlen prints &. But this 'et'-ligature, still used by us in the contraction 'etc.', is not what the corrector has written. His letters probably are meant for 'et,' since the conjunction has a very similar form on other pages of the MS. (e.g. 35 v, 38 r). Still it is just conceivable that they are meant for 'eius,' in which case the word would be a mere explanatory gloss of *maiorum*, and would not be intended as a word of the verse of Ennius. The part played by this corrector is so slight that it is impossible to say whether he used a MS. (the original or a new MS.) for his corrections.

The Basle codex (B) writes the line thus:

huic statuam statui maiorum orbatur athenis.

A corrector, who certainly used the original of B for his corrections, has added in the margin the word *morbo*. This word (unlike his corrections elsewhere) he has enclosed in a ring of dots; and since he has put three dots above *orbatur* in the text it is clear that he means *morbo* to stand in some relation to *orbatur*. The important question for us is whether *morbo* was a variant in the original. It may be a mere fancy of mine, but the impression which this marginal adscript leaves on me is that of a mere capricious conjectural emendation. The corrector, I believe, saw that *orbatur* yielded no sense, and capriciously substituted for it *morbo*; although I must confess that *morbo* does

not seem much more intelligible than *orbatur*, and I readily allow that in future attempts to emend the line the possibility that *morbo* gives a clue must not be ignored.

For the present however let us confine our attention to the two variants *obatu* (M) and *orbatur* (B). Which is original? To my mind, *orbatur*. The *obatu* of M seems to me a scribe's attempt to adapt the word to Consentius' account of the 'demptio litterae r.' This is a natural explanation of how *obatu* came to be substituted for *orbatur*, but it would not be so easy to explain *orbatur* as a corruption of *obatu*.

One other item has to be added to our 'apparatus criticus.' After quoting the line, Consentius proceeds: 'et hic quoque per metaplasum dempsit litteram r.' In B there is over *r* a superscript *s*, by the scribe himself, I think, not by the corrector. But, I take it, no one can doubt that what Consentius wrote was 'litteram r.' Another thing is equally certain; that a scansion like *-āīŭ a-* is impossible in Ennius' hexameters.

W. M. LINDSAY.

NOTES ON THE *ACHARNIANS* OF ARISTOPHANES.

34 χὼ πρίων ἀπῆν.

The allusion is obviously to the street-cries of Athens. Diphilus *ap. Athen.* ii. 55 κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πωλεῖν περιπατῶν βούλομαι | ρόδα ραφανίδας κ.τ.λ. Dicaeopolis longs for his country-deme ὅς οὐδεπώποτ' εἶπεν ἄνθρακας πρίω. A parallel to πρίων 'one who shouts πρίω' is Hesychius βηβήν πρόβατον; cf. Cratinus *Fr.* 43 ὁ δ' ἡλίθιος ὥσπερ πρόβατον βῆ βῆ λέγων βαδίζει.

96 ἢ περὶ ἄκραν κάμπτων νεώσοικον σκοπεῖς;

Wilamowitz (*Hermes* xiv. 184) would delete this line. So Rutherford, *Schol. Aristoph.* ii. 274. 'The second part of this line as tinkered into shape by redactors is nothing but an adscript to ναύφαρκτον βλέπεις; showing that some commentator translated it as "Do you inspect an arsenal?"' On this hypothesis it is difficult to account for the pointed περὶ ἄκραν κάμπτων which the Schol. rightly takes as referring to slow and self-important gait—ἀξιωματικῶς ἰοντος. Presumably Pseudartabas enters at line 61, and veers slowly round in front of the Prytanes at 94-7. For σκοπεῖν='to look out for,' cf. Lys. 426 σὺδ' ἐν ποῶν ἀλλ' ἢ καπηλεῖον σκοπῶν. The metaphor in 96-7 is suggested by the ναῦς in ναύφαρκτον. Hdt. ix. 8 τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἐτείχεον καὶ σφι ἦν πρὸς τέλος (sc. τὸ τεῖχος from ἐτείχεον).

272-3 Should these lines not be transposed? ἐκ τοῦ Φέλλεως according to Van Leeuwen is to be taken with Θράτταν. But (1) we should expect a repeated article before the preposition. In Eup. *Fr.* 235 ἔστι δέ τις Θήλεια Φιλόξενος ἐκ Διομείων the ἐκ Διομείων is influenced by the ἔστι; (2) φελλέους seems to have denoted any rough or stony ground—Harpocr. 181. 9 τὰ πετρώδη καὶ αἰγίβοτα χωρία Φελλέας ἐκάλουν. Thus the ἐκ cannot denote origin as in Eupolis. It does not seem to have been noticed that Suidas favours transposition.—τοῦ Στρυμοδώρον Θράτταν ἐκ τοῦ Φελλέως κλέπτουσιν. This also gives better sense, ὑληφόρον repeating and explaining κλέπτουσιν.

294 ἀντὶ δ' ὦν ἐσπείσάμην οὐκ ἴσατ' ἀλλ' ἀκούσατε.

ἴσατ' R, ἴστε A, ἴστε τ' Γ. No emendation yet proposed is quite satisfactory. Dobree's οὐκ ἴστε μ' is impossible. The anticipatory accus. does not stand after the clause which it is meant to anticipate. Elmsley's οὐκ ἴστ' ἔτ' gives the wrong sense; we want οὐκ ἴστε πω. Van Leeuwen adopts Hamaker's ingenious

ἀκούσατ'· ἀλλ' ἀκούσατε: but it is hard to see how this could have generated the MSS. readings. I venture to suggest οὐκ ᾔσατ': this is no answer to the ἀντὶ ποίας αἰτίας of 286. Dicaeopolis sticks to the jog-trot trochaics; the hit at the lyric violence of the Acharnians is quite in the manner of Comedy, which never tries to disguise the fact that its characters are merely players after all. See inter alia the references to the Eccyclema 408, to the Spectators 496, to the Choregus 1150, to the Anapaests 627.

338-339 ἀλλὰ νυνὶ λέγ' εἴ σοι δοκεῖ τὸν τε Λακε-
δαιμόνιον αὐτὸν ὅτι τῷ τρόπῳ σουστὶ φίλος.

So R, φίλον vulg. The weak point of the MSS. reading is the αὐτόν. Herwerden (*Vindiciae Aristoph.* p. 6) suggests ἀντίπαλον, which is mere verbiage; Kock (*Verisimilia*) αἴνεσον ὅτῳ, but the simple αἰνεῖν is alien to Comedy. May we not read αὐτόθεν ὅτῳ. The first λέγε is 'Speak,' the key-word of the previous scene, and marks the concession. The λέγε to be supplied after the τε is 'say,' with which τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον is anticipatory accus. The repetition of the verb in slightly different sense is too common to need illustration; cf. Pind. *Pyth.* i. 40, Eur. *I.T.* 279-80. αὐτόθεν ὅτῳ is near the ductus, and facilitates the mental repetition of λέγε. For λέγειν αὐτόθεν, cf. Plato *Symp.* 213 A, *Gorg.* 470 B.

412 ἄταρ τί τὰ ράκι' ἐκ τραγωδίας ἔχεις.

For the logical weakness of this line see Bachmann *Conj.* 7, Richards *C.R.* 1901, p. 355. Comedy is often illogical, but generally when the illogicality is funny. There is a good instance in *Ran.* 657 τὴν ἄκανθαν ἔξελε, where Xanthias excuses his οἴμοι, as if the prick of a thorn were not as conclusive a test of divinity as the stroke of the lash. τί τὰ ράκι' εἰς κ.τ.λ. and τί τὰ ράκι'; ἢ 'κ κ.τ.λ. have been suggested. The true reading may be

ἄταρ τί τὰ ράκι'; εἰς τραγωδίαν ἔχεις
ἐσθλήτ' ἐλευθήν;

ἄταρ τί τὰ ράκι'; is a natural cry of surprise, and is supported by the parallel scene in *Thesm.* 186 τίς ἢ στολή; For the poetic principle involved cf. *Thesm.* 165-6 αὐτός τε καλὸς ἦν καὶ καλῶς ἡμπίσχετο | διὰ τοῦτ' ἄρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ κάλ' ἦν τὰ δράματα.

717-8 The meaning of this locus conclamatus can hardly be 'And for all time to come we must banish or, if he have already gone into exile, must fine—.' An accused person frequently left Attica to escape sentence of death; he would hardly leave Attica to escape sentence of exile. Besides this fiscal process has nothing to do with sentences of expulsion. The old man of the epirrhema leaves the court complaining that he has lost the wherewithal to buy his coffin; the same sort of misfortune must be the burden of the ant-epirrhema. ἐξελαύνειν is used of the homoeopathic treatment in Antiphanes *Fr.* 300 οἶνον (δὲ δει) τὸν οἶνον ἐξελαύνειν, | σάλπιγγι τὴν σάλπιγγα, τῷ κήρυκι τὸν βοῶντα, . . . αὐθαδίαν

αὐθαδία, Καλλίστρατον μαγείρῳ, | στάσει στάσιν, μάχη μάχην, ὑπωπίοις δὲ πύκτην, | πόνῳ πόνον, δίκη δίκην, γυναικὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, and it is homoeopathic treatment that Aristophanes is advocating here. It can hardly be a coincidence that the repetition of cognates and the use of ἐξελαύνειν where its ordinary sense is inadmissible, occur here together. καὶ φύγη τις ζημιούν is obviously parenthetical. I suggest καὶ τύχητε, i.e. καὶ τύχητε (ζημιούντες) ζημιούν. 'And for all time to come you must work off, dispose of, and fine, if you do fine, the old man by means of the old man and the young man by means of the young.'

772 αἰ λῆς, περίδου μοι περὶ θυμητιδᾶν ἀλῶν.

The MSS. here θυμητιδᾶν, R θυμητίδαν, Suid. θυμητίδων, Berlin Papyri θυμητῶν. The ordinary form is ἄλεις θυμῖται. Editors follow Ahrens in taking θυμητιδᾶν as Gen. Plur. of θυμῖτις assuming by pure conjecture that ἄλεις may have been feminine in Doric. I venture to suggest that θυμητιδᾶν and θυματιδᾶν are both corruptions of an original Θυμαιτιδᾶν. The Megarian must bet with Attic salt, for he has none of his own, cf. 814; how he is going to pay if he loses, is another matter. Aristophanes puns on θυμῖτης and Θυμαιτίδης the name of an Athenian deme. *Etym. Magnum* p. 288. ἐκωμωδοῦντο γὰρ οἱ Ἀχαρνεῖς ὡς ἄγριοι καὶ σκληροί, Ποτάμιοι δὲ ὡς ῥαδίως δεχόμενοι τοὺς παρεγγράφους, Θυμαιτίδαι δὲ καὶ Προσπάλτιοι ὡς δικαστικοί. Θυμαιτιδᾶν ἀλῶν is the sort of stake that a sceptic like Dicaeopolis might be expected to deposit; cf. Plut. 730 ὄξει διέμενος Σφηττίῳ. Schol. ad loc. πικροὶ γὰρ οἱ Σφήττιοι καὶ συκοφανταί.

1096 ξύγκληε καὶ δεῖπνόν τις ἐνσκευαζέτω.

ξύγκληε if right can only mean 'Lock up' (sc. τὴν θύραν). Is this not a little previous? The viands are outside, no doubt; but the dinner-basket is still within. See line 1098.

I suggest σύγκλαέ νυν' 'You can go to the deuce with her.' You are a pair of κακοδαίμονες. 1131 κλάειν κελύων Λάμαχον τὸν Γοργάσου. The asyndeton in the following clause is justified by the brusquerie of Dicaeopolis. ἐνσκευαζέτω is, I think, quite genuine. It is regularly used 'de vestitu et cultu,' but there does not seem to be any reason why it should not here be used of 'arranging in' the κίστη. There is at least one other instance, Diphilus *Fr.* 89 ὥσπερ κανοῦν μοι πάντ' ἐνεσκευασμένον. εὖ σκευαζέτω (Haeberlin, Herwerden) is open to at least as grave an objection. It would certainly suggest cooking the dinner, and Dicaeopolis has himself been chef.

1082 βούλει μάχεσθαι Γηρυόνη τετραπτίλῳ;

The traditional view of this passage seems to be the correct one. Dicaeopolis picks up four of the feathers from the birds he has plucked, and throws himself into a fighting attitude. There is no lack of point if we assume with Willems that Geryon was the patron-saint of Attic Cooks as Keraon and Matton were

the patrons of their professional brethren at Sparta (*Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 1903, p. 26). Dicaeopolis is now occupied with his cuisine.

Van Leeuwen's conjecture, Γηρνόνη τετράπτιλε; has met with considerable favour. Its simplicity is certainly attractive, but stubborn facts are against it. (1) Lamachus is not wearing his helmet at all (cf. 1103, 1107), so that he is not τετράπτιλος at present. (2) There is not the slightest ground for assuming that Lamachus' helmet ever had four plumes. Lamachus himself is only cognizant of two; cf. 1103 ἔνεγκε δεῦρο τὸ πτέρω τὸ 'κ τοῦ κράνους. The taxiarch's insignia included a triple crest, *Pax* 1173-4; but the combination of crest and plumes is purely tragic. It is significant that the helmet of Herakles on the Assteas-vase at Madrid has three crests and two plumes like that of Lamachus. This gives us a pretty combination in 572 ff. The βωμολόχος is pitted against the miles gloriosus; Dicaeopolis with the pointed carnival-cap τὸ πιλίδιον (cf. Dieterich, *Pulcinella*, 156 ff), Lamachus with the hero's helm.

W. RENNIE.

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COULD ANCIENT SHIPS WORK TO WINDWARD?

WHEN Caesar sailed to Britain in 55 B.C. he was obliged to leave behind eighteen transports which had his cavalry on board and had been prevented by adverse winds from joining the rest of the fleet. These vessels, like those which carried the infantry, were of native Gallic build, and were doubtless sailed by Gallic seamen, who were familiar with the conditions of navigation in the Channel. On the fourth day after Caesar landed in Britain they set sail with a light breeze. All went well until they were approaching the British coast and were descried from the Roman camp when, as Caesar says,

‘such a violent storm suddenly arose that none of them could keep their course, but some were carried back to the point from which they had started, while the others were swept down in great peril to the lower and more westerly part of the island. They anchored notwithstanding, but as they were becoming waterlogged, were forced to stand out to sea in the face of night, and make for the continent.’¹

‘The brief sentences’—so I wrote in my recent book on *Ancient Britain*—‘tell a tale which cannot be mistaken. The ships which were swept down past the Foreland and the Dover cliffs scudded before the north-easterly gale; and, although they were of course in no danger of being driven ashore, they were in great peril, because only the most watchful steering could prevent them from broaching to: if a heavy sea struck the stern, it might swing the vessel round, and in a moment she would be overset and founder. The ships which were carried back to the point from which they had started were of course handled differently. A sailing-vessel, caught by a gale, must either run before the wind or lie to.² With these vessels the latter course was adopted. Carrying only just enough sail to keep them steady, they were laid to on the port tack; and once they had drifted past Cape Grisnez into comparatively sheltered water, they were able to stand in for the shore and make the port of Ambleteuse.’³

When I wrote these words I believed, as I do still, that ancient ships could work to windward: but the truth of this view has not yet been established; and I therefore propose to examine the evidence.

¹ Tanta tempestas subito coorta est ut nulla earum cursum tenere posset, sed aliae eodem unde erant profectae referrentur, aliae ad inferiorem partem insulae, quae est propius solis occasum, deicerentur; quae tamen ancoris iactis cum fluctibus complerentur,

necessario aduersa nocte in altum proeuctae continentem petierunt.—*B.G.* iv. 28, §§ 2-3.

On the meaning of *aduersa nocte* see my *Ancient Britain*, p. 598, n. 2.

² See p. 32, *infra*.

³ *Ancient Britain*, p. 319

I have proved in *Ancient Britain* that Caesar's cavalry transports sailed from Ambleteuse,¹ and that the camp from which they were descried just before the storm was at or near Walmer;² but if any one who has read the book does not accept the proof, he may adopt any other theory which pleases him without disturbing the ensuing argument. Indeed every other theory implies not only that the transports could work to windward, but that they could sail closer to the wind than a modern schooner.³

Caesar's transports doubtless resembled those of the Veneti, whose build and construction he has described in a well-known chapter⁴ without telling us any thing about their masts and yards or the cut of their sails. They were more flat-bottomed than Italian ships and had considerable sheer: but their most important characteristic was great strength; and it is worthy of remark that their anchors had chain cables of iron.

James Smith of Jordanhill, the author of *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, of which Whewell said that 'no finer piece of demonstrative writing had appeared since the time of Paley,'⁵ argued that ancient ships could 'make good a course of about seven points from the wind.'⁶ His opinion was based partly upon a study of the voyage of St. Paul from Sidon to Malta, partly upon a passage in which Cicero, describing his voyage from Cilicia to Athens, says 'we had encountered contrary winds and sailed slowly and with difficulty' (*cum sane aduersis uentis usi essemus tardeque et incommode nauigassemus*).⁷ In his dissertation on the ships of the ancients Smith remarks that 'we have no information as to the exact angle with the wind at which an ancient ship could sail. It must, however,' he continues, 'have been less than eight points, but more than six, the usual allowance for a modern [square-rigged] merchant-ship in moderate weather. I have, therefore, in my calculations taken seven as the mean between these extremes.'⁸ Smith gives no reasons for assuming that an ancient Mediterranean ship could not sail as close to the wind as a modern merchant-ship, the rig of which is very different; but probably it could not make good a course as near the wind. Captain Iron, the harbour-master of Dover, writes to me, 'I should say they would lay as close to the wind as a square-rigged sailing-vessel of the present day—between 6 and 7 points—but would make much more leeway. The illustrations of ancient ships that I have seen give one the idea that the crafts were not shaped to have much grip of the water.'

It is well known that the Mediterranean merchant-ships of the time of St. Paul depended for propulsion principally upon one large square sail. The mainmast was nearly amidships,—slightly before the centre. Above the main-sail a triangular topsail was hoisted in suitable weather: a small square sail

¹ *Ancient Britain*, pp. 581-3, 593, 613, 639.

² *Ib.* pp. 595-665.

³ *Ib.* pp. 581-3, 613, 624-5, 639, 643, 740-1.

⁴ *B.G.* iii. 13.

⁵ *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 4th ed., 1880, p. viii.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 75.

⁷ *Fam.* xiv. 5, § 1.

⁸ *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 1880, p. 215.

was set on a low sloping foremast, not unlike a bowsprit; and some ships had a mizen-mast, which carried a square sail, as well.¹

M. Jules Vars, in his interesting handbook, *L'art nautique dans l'antiquité*,² which is based upon A. Breusing's *Die Nautik der Alten*,³ affirms that 'no text definitely proves that the ancients knew how to sail close-hauled and to tack' ('aucun passage ne prouve formellement, chez les anciens, qu'ils aient connu *l'allure du plus près et le louvoyage*'). The passage which I have quoted from Cicero, and which M. Vars does not mention, would be conclusive if we could be sure that he used the words *contrariis uentis* strictly; but it might perhaps be argued that he only meant unfavourable winds. It is certain and universally admitted that ancient ships could sail with the wind abeam; but such a wind may have been called unfavourable. Still, it must be remembered that a ship sailing with the wind abeam would, even in moderate weather, make some lee-way; and therefore, in order to keep her course, she would occasionally have to lie within less than eight points of the wind.

James Smith quotes a passage from Pliny's *Natural History*,⁴—'*iisdem autem uentis in contrarium nauigatur prolatis pedibus*.' The last two words mean 'carrying the corners of the sails⁵ forward,' so as to bring the sails towards a line with the axis of the ship; in other words, *nauigatur prolatis pedibus* might be accurately translated by 'it is common to sail close-hauled.' But the exact sense of the passage depends upon the meaning of *in contrarium*. Smith⁶ infers from these words that ancient ships 'could sail on opposite tacks': M. Vars, on the other hand, thinks that we are only justified in concluding that they could sail at right angles to the direction of the same wind either to the left or to the right; that is, that if, for example, the wind blew from the west, it was possible to sail either due north or due south. It seems to me that Pliny's observation might bear either meaning: anyhow I agree with M. Vars that it does not prove that ancient ships could tack. But, for the reason which I have already given, it does prove that they could lie (though not necessarily that they could make good a course) within less than eight points of the wind.

M. Vars then examines the well-known passage in which Lucian⁷ uses the words *πρὸς ἀντίους τοὺς Ἑτησίας πλαγιάζοντας* ('beating up [?] against the contrary Etesian winds'). *Ἀντίους* is equivalent to Cicero's *aduersis*; and the circumstances of Cicero's voyage were doubtless analogous to those of the final

¹ *Ib.* pp. 190-206; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xix. 1 (1), § 5; C. Torr's *Ancient Ships*, 1894, pp. 89, 91, and his article—NAVIS—in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dict. des ant. grecques et rom.*, 36^e fasc., 1904, p. 38. Cf. *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich-Deutschen archäol. Instituts*, vii. 1892 (1893), pp. 50-1.

² Page 185 (A. Breusing, *Die Nautik der Alten*, p. 152).

³ M. Vars's book is described on the title-page as 'd'après A. BREUSING (*Die Nautik der Alten*).'

every passage to which I have referred I have compared the French with the German, and find that it is virtually a translation. I quote, however, from M. Vars's book (giving the references to Breusing in brackets) because many people who can read French easily do not know German.

⁴ ii. 47 (48), § 128.

⁵ C. Torr, *Ancient Ships*, p. 96, n. 206.

⁶ p. 125, note.

⁷ *Nav.* 9.

stage of that which Lucian describes. A corn-ship bound for Italy sailed in seven days from Alexandria to Acamas, a cape on the north-west coast of Cyprus. The wind then veered to the north-west; and the ship was obliged to run before it to Sidon. Thence she sailed in a heavy gale between Cyprus and Asia Minor, and on the tenth day after her departure from Sidon reached the Chelidonian Isles. After sailing past Lycia she entered the Aegean Sea, and, beating up (?) against the Etesian winds, anchored in the Piraeus on the seventieth day of the voyage.

M. Vars begins by remarking that the mere fact that a ship bound from Alexandria to Italy was obliged to sail not in the direction of Crete but in that of Acamas proves that she could not sail within less than eight points of the wind.¹ The conclusion is hasty. Even now sailing-vessels do not commonly begin voyages by beating up against unfavourable winds. Assuming, with James Smith, that the Alexandrian ship could just make good a course within seven points, she could only have sailed direct to Crete by making a long series of tacks; and her captain might hope that, after passing Acamas, he would get a wind which would be favourable for a westward voyage along the coast of Asia Minor, and would actually gain time. But this is not all. Ships which could only make good a course within seven points in moderate weather, and which made excessive lee-way, would gain little or nothing by tacking with strong winds: moreover, having no compasses, they would be in danger, when out of sight of land, of losing their reckoning. Assuming that ancient ships could work to windward, there was therefore a sufficient reason for their tacking as seldom as possible.

What were the Etesian winds with which the Alexandrian ship had to contend on her voyage through the Aegean? M. Vars remarks truly enough that the term denotes winds which blew steadily during a certain part of the year, but the direction of which was different in different regions. Pliny,² he says, states that in Spain and Asia they blew from the east, in the Black Sea from the north, elsewhere from the south; while Captain John Stewart observes that in the Archipelago 'the most prevailing winds are the N.E., or Etesian winds, which blow fresh and almost constantly for several months in the autumn,' and that 'N.W. winds now and then come in violent squalls, but they are neither so common nor so lasting as the north and N.E. winds.'³ According to the latest edition of the *Mediterranean Pilot*,⁴ 'the prevailing winds in the Archipelago are from the northward between N.W. and N.E. Northerly winds commence early in June and blow almost constantly until September.' M. Vars admits that

¹ *L'art nautique dans l'antiquité*, p. 186 (Breusing, p. 154). Prof. Sir W. M. Ramsay (*St. Paul, the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 1895, p. 319) asserts that 'no ancient ship would have ventured to keep so much out to sea as to run intentionally from Egypt to Crete . . . but [he adds] it is probable that this [St. Paul's] Alexandrian ship had sailed direct to Myra across the Levant.' The voyage to

Myra was longer than to Crete, and, moreover, Caesar sailed direct from Asia or Rhodes to Alexandria (*B.C.* iii. 106, § 1; Col. Stoffel, *Hist. de Jules César*,—*Guerre civile*, ii. 40–1, 255–6).

² *Nat. Hist.* ii. 47 (48), § 127.

³ Laurie's *Mediterranean Directory*, ed. A. G. Findlay, 1856, p. 267.

⁴ Vol. iii. 1899, pp. 469–70.

Lucian, like Aristotle,¹ may have meant by 'the Etesian winds' winds which blew from the north or north-west. But, he insists, this concession does not affect the question: 'it is quite inadmissible that the Alexandrian captain should have been obliged to tack for two months, sailing close-hauled against a north-east, and occasionally a north-west, wind, in order to fetch Athens from the Chelidonian promontory.'² Why is it 'inadmissible,' and why does M. Vars exaggerate into two months a space of time which, according to Lucian, was fifty-three days, less the time spent in sailing from Cyprus to Sidon and from the Chelidonian promontory to the Aegean and the time during which the ship was wind-bound at Sidon? The word *πλαγιάζειν*, says M. Vars, 'means simply that they sailed with the wind abeam, now on the port, now on the starboard side; that they steered westward when the wind was from the north, north-eastward when it was from the north-west; and that after a long voyage to-and-fro they arrived at Athens.'³

This will not do. In what respect is M. Vars's theory more admissible than the theory which he combats? The Etesian winds must have been extraordinarily complaisant if they kept shifting with the regular and nicely adjusted alternation which M. Vars's theory demands. Besides, does not the original meaning of *πλαγιάζειν*—'to turn slantwise or obliquely'—suggest that the ship's head formed less than a right angle with the direction of the wind? As I have already shown,⁴ it must have done so in any case when the wind was abeam; and it is to my mind incredible that Cicero's *aduersi uenti*⁵ and Lucian's *ἀντίοι Ἐτησίοι* did not sometimes blow at a less favourable angle.

Let us now examine the story of the voyage and shipwreck of St. Paul. The classical commentary is James Smith's book; and there is hardly a single important controvertible statement in it from which M. Vars does not dissent. When St. Paul's ship was caught by the gale she was off the south-western coast of Crete and east of the island of Clauda. For some distance she scudded, and then, in the comparatively smooth water under the lee of Clauda, took on board the boat, which she had hitherto towed. After recording this operation, the writer of *Acts* tells us that the crew, 'fearing lest they should fall into the quicksands [Syrtis on the north coast of Africa], lowered the gear, and so were driven.'⁶

The words *χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος*, which in the Authorized Version are translated by 'strake sail,' and which the revisers, following Smith, rendered

¹ οἱ δὲ [ἄνεμοι] θέρουσ, ὡς οἱ ἐτησίοι λεγόμενοι, μῆξιν ἔχοντες τῶν τ' ἀπο τῆς ἄρκτου φερομένων καὶ ξεφύρων. —*De mundo*, 4. Caesar (*B. C.* iii. 107, § 1) states that the Etesian winds blew dead against ships bound from Alexandria to the province of Asia (*etesiiis . . . qui nauigantibus Alexandria flant aduersissimi uenti*), which suggests that they blew from the north-west or north.

² 'Il est complètement inadmissible que le capitaine d'Alexandrie ait dû *louvoyer* deux mois, en prenant l'allure *du plus près* contre un vent du Nord-Est, et à l'occasion du Nord-Ouest, pour parvenir du cap

Chélidonien à Athènes' (*L'art nautique*, etc., pp. 167-8) [Breusing, p. 154]).

³ 'πλαγιάζειν signifie simplement qu'on présenta tantôt un bord, tantôt l'autre au vent; qu'on gouvernat à l'Ouest par un vent du Nord et au Nord-Est par un vent du Nord-Ouest, et qu'après un long va-et-vient on arriva à Athènes' (*L'art nautique*, etc., p. 188 [Breusing, pp. 184-5]).

⁴ See p. 28, *supra*.

⁵ See p. 27, *supra*.

⁶ φοβούμενοι τε μὴ εἰς τὴν Σύρτιν ἐκπέσωσιν, χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος, οὕτως ἐφέροντο.—*Acts*, xxvii. 17.

by 'lowered the gear,' have of course given rise to much discussion. What was 'the gear'? Smith, remarking that the object of lowering it was to avoid the Syrtis, concludes that it was the 'gear connected with the fair-weather sails,' and that 'unless the main-yard was lowered when the ship was running before the wind, which we are not told was the case, it must have been done now'; but he observes that 'this alone, however, was not sufficient to have kept the ship off a lee shore. There were but two ways by which that could have been effected. She might have been anchored, or her head might have been turned off shore, and such sail set as the violence of the gale would permit her to carry. We know that the first of the alternatives was not adopted; we must therefore conclude that the last was, for by no other way could she have avoided the apprehended danger.'¹ Then, affirming that 'a ship at sea, in a gale, must either scud or lie-to,' and that 'in the present case, to have adopted the former alternative would have been to have rushed on certain destruction,' he concludes that the ship was laid to on the starboard tack, and that she drifted in this way for fourteen days until the crew became aware that she was close to land, when, after twice sounding and finding that the successive depths were twenty and fifteen fathoms, they anchored by the stern, and finally cut away the anchors, set the foresail, and ran the ship aground. St. Paul's Bay, on the northern coast of Malta, where they made the land, is 476 miles from Clauda, and W. 8° N. of the point where the ship was caught by the gale. Smith calculates that the wind, which the writer of *Acts* calls *Euraquilo*, blew from E.N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N., and, moreover, he insists that it blew steadily from that point throughout the entire drift: he believes that the ship, when laid to, lay within just seven points of the wind; and he assumes that she made six points of lee-way, or half a point less than the maximum which, according to Falconer's *Marine Dictionary*, a square-rigged merchant ship of the eighteenth century made in a heavy gale.²

Now the very first step in this argument, which Whewell followed with such submissive admiration, was made in the dark. Smith says that 'it is not easy to imagine a more erroneous translation [of the words *χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος*] than that of our authorised version: "Fearing lest they should fall into the quicksands, strake sail and so were driven" (ver. 17). It is in fact equivalent to saying that, fearing a certain danger, they deprived themselves of the only possible means of avoiding it.' But although the effect of merely striking sail would have been that the ship would at once begin to drift towards the very place which they desired to avoid, her progress would have been so greatly retarded that fully eleven days would have elapsed before she could strike the Syrtis; and her captain, who knew the moods of a Levanter, might have expected that long before that time the gale would have spent itself or have ceased to blow from E.N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. Moreover, the translation which Smith substituted for 'strake sail'—'lowering the gear'—was, in the sense

¹ *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 1880, pp. 111-3.

² *Ib.* pp. 102, 113-5, 124-36, 142-3.

which he attached to it, precisely the same. According to him, the gear was, as we have seen, 'the gear connected with the fair-weather sails.' But (to say nothing of the fact that sail must have been shortened when the ship began to scud), since the mere lowering of this gear would, from his point of view, have been useless, he is obliged to assume that the ship was laid to under storm sails; and of this the writer of *Acts* says absolutely nothing. Sir William Ramsay,¹ who follows Smith, suggests that 'perhaps the Greek (χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος) might be taken as a technical term denoting the entire series of operations, slackening sail, but leaving some spread for a special purpose.' But 'the entire series of operations' would have included not only 'leaving some [sail] spread for a special purpose' but also (according to Smith) setting storm-sails and bringing the ship's head from W.S.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. to N. by W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W., in other words, making it pass over an angle of $146^{\circ} 15'$. However, when a commentator is striving to force a reluctant text into agreement with a preconceived theory, one need not be extreme to point out that he is overloading the meaning of words. But, says Smith, 'a ship at sea, in a gale, must either scud or lie-to.' Roughly speaking, and limiting the remark to sailing vessels, this is true enough. But a third course is sometimes adopted; and M. Vars argues with considerable force that it was adopted on this occasion.² There is a contrivance called a floating anchor, a sea anchor, or a drogue, which has enabled many a fishing smack to weather the storms of the North Sea, and which was also, in some form or other, used in ancient times. It is commonly lowered over the bows, and opposes so much resistance to the water that it keeps the ship's head up to the wind, and so long as she has plenty of sea room, she rides safely and easily. M. Vars assumes that, in the case of St. Paul's ship, it was lowered over the stern; and perhaps this is a fair assumption, although it is unlikely that Smith was right in affirming, without evidence, that the trading craft of the Mediterranean were built on the same lines at stem and stern.³ Let us, however, hear Sir William Ramsay. 'Dragging stones or weights at the end of ropes from the stern, which is the meaning elicited by some German commentators and writers on nautical matters, does not,' he remarks,⁴ 'appear to be intended as a joke; but how that meaning is to be got from the Greek words (χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος), I confess that I

¹ *St. Paul, the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, p. 329.

² *L'art nautique*, etc., pp. 224-31 (Breusing, pp. 178-82).

³ 'The forepart of the hull below the upper works differed but little in form from that of the ships of modern times; and as both ends were alike, if we suppose a full-built merchant-ship of the present day [1848] cut in two, and the stern half replaced by one exactly the same as that of the bow, we shall have a pretty accurate notion of what these ships were' (*The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 1880, p. 182). Mr. Torr, whom I consulted, has very kindly written, 'I should say that his [Smith's] statement that "both

ends were alike" would be correct only in this very limited sense:—In contrasting merchant-ships with war-ships, one might say that the merchant-ships had both ends alike, as their stemposts sloped up from the water-line in much the same way as their sternposts, whereas in war-ships the stemposts sloped the other way to join the ram. In other words, the statement would be true (so far as it is true at all) only of the appearance of the ships as seen from the side. I do not think it would be true of the appearance of the ships as seen from above: they would be wider at the stern than at the bows.'

⁴ *St. Paul, the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, p. 330.

cannot see.' Then has the professor never heard of a sea anchor, and does he not know that it is attached to a hawser and let go over the bows like an ordinary anchor? Is it not a 'gear,' and is it not 'lowered'? Unless the writer of *Acts* omitted to mention the most important incident of the whole voyage, the gear which was lowered can only have been a sea anchor. It may of course be objected that if the gale continued to blow from E.N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N., the ship would, sea anchor notwithstanding, have ultimately drifted on to the Syrtis. But the writer of *Acts* does not say that the gale throughout was an *Euraquilo*; and if you ask seamen who know the Eastern Mediterranean whether they ever experienced or heard of a gale which blew fourteen days continuously in that sea from east-north-east, their faces will be eloquent.¹ M. Vars is of course obliged to assume that the wind gradually shifted from east-north-east to south;² and Smith³ appeals to Captain J. Stewart, who states that northerly winds die away gradually; but the captain was speaking of the Archipelago.⁴ Moreover, M. Vars's theory enables him to assign the proper meaning to a word which Smith is compelled to mistranslate. The author of *Acts*, in the twenty-seventh verse of his twenty-seventh chapter, says 'we were driven up and down⁵ in [the sea of] Adria' (*διαφερομένων ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀδρίᾳ*). But, according to Smith,⁶ *διαφερομένων* means 'driven through'; for, unless the ship drifted constantly in the same direction thirteen days and fourteen nights, his theory breaks down. Sir William Ramsay,⁷ however, says that 'Luke seems to have had the landsman's idea that they drifted to and fro in the Mediterranean.' It would be interesting to learn whether Sir William ever met a landsman with Luke's power of observation and command of nautical phraseology who entertained such an idea when it was false; but Smith's theory cannot stand without his follower's support.

Still, however untrustworthy Smith's calculations may be, I would not argue that the theory that St. Paul's ship was laid to is absolutely irreconcilable with the narrative in *Acts*. M. Vars implies that it would have been impossible to lay her to in the gale. He insists that the only sail which she could have carried was the artemon, or small foresail, which, as he truly says, would have had the effect of keeping her head off the wind; and he denies that she carried a mizen-mast. But, as Mr. Cecil Torr has shown,⁸ some Mediterranean

¹ We learn, however, from Laurie's *Mediterranean Directory*, ed. A. G. Findlay, p. 222, that in the Adriatic 'the [wind called the] *bora* . . . very often continues for nine, fifteen, and sometimes as long as thirty days, many times subsiding at intervals,' but that 'during its cessations it would be highly imprudent to set sail until the symptoms have entirely disappeared.'

² *L'art nautique*, etc., p. 241 (Breusing, p. 189). Oddly enough Breusing, in the map at the end of his book, makes St. Paul's ship drift in a direction nearly identical with that traced by Smith.

³ *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 1880, p. 102, n. 1.

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⁴ Smith says (*ib.* p. 176) that to suppose that an E.N.E. gale would have changed to an E.S.E. one 'is entirely contrary to the observed wind-phenomena of the Mediterranean.' I do not gainsay this assertion; but the *Mediterranean Pilot* does not support it; and Captain Stewart, to whom Smith refers, was speaking only of the Archipelago. In Laurie's *Mediterranean Directory*, ed. A. G. Findlay, 1856, p. 178, it is stated that near Malta N.E. winds sometimes veer to S.E.

⁵ Instead of 'up and down' the Revised Version has 'to and fro.'

⁶ *Ib.* p. 120. ⁷ *St. Paul, the Traveller*, etc., p. 334.

⁸ See pp. 27-8, *supra*.

ships did carry three masts; and, even if St. Paul's ship had only two, is there any warrant for the assertion that only her foresail could have been set? Might she not have carried something analogous to a storm trysail?

Again, M. Vars asserts that if the ship had been laid to heavy seas would have broken over her; that, as her rudders had been lifted out of the water, it would have been impossible to keep her head up to the wind; and that, even if they had been left in their usual position, the first wave that struck her would have torn them out of the helmsman's grasp or smashed them.¹ Now when a square-rigged merchantman is laid to, the mean angle which she makes with the wind is about six or seven points; and, when her helm is lashed, she yaws so much that she keeps falling off to as much as eight or nine points from the wind and coming up again.² Why should St. Paul's ship have been in more danger when the precaution of 'frapping'³ had been taken than a modern one? As for the rudders, they were, as everybody knows, not hinged like ours, but a pair of huge paddles, one on each side of the stern. The text to which M. Vars appeals is the fortieth verse of the twenty-seventh chapter of *Acts*, which describes the preparations that were made for running the ship aground when she was in St. Paul's Bay,—‘and casting off the anchors they left them in the sea, at the same time loosing the bands of the rudders, and hoisting up the foresail to the wind,’ etc. This does not prove that the paddles had been lifted out of the water when the gale began; it only proves that they were lashed when the ship was anchored by the stern off Malta.⁴ It is possible, however, that they were lashed during the gale; for the helm of a modern ship is sometimes lashed when she is laid to. And why, if St. Paul's ship was laid to, should the steering paddles have been broken any more than a modern rudder in like circumstances, or than the steering paddles of one

¹ *L'art nautique*, etc., pp. 222-4 (Breusing, pp. 176-7).

² She has perhaps a maintopsail or trysails, and comes up to within six points, and falls off to wind abeam, forging rather ahead,’ etc. (Admiral W. H. Smyth, *The Sailor's Word-Book*, 1867, p. 442).

³ *Acts*, xxvii. 17, βοηθείαι ἐχρῶντο, ὑποζώνοντες τὸ πλοῖον (‘they used helps, undergirding the ship’). ‘This obscure statement,’ says Mr. Torr (*Ancient Ships*, p. 42, n. 102), ‘seems to mean that they used expedients which answered the purpose of the girding-cables [ὑποζώματα]. They would not find any of these cables on board, for they were on a merchant-ship, and these were used for war-ships; nor could they fix them on a ship during a storm at sea, for even in a dockyard this was a long and troublesome process.’ But is the statement obscure? There has been much controversy as to whether the ὑποζώματα were fastened horizontally or vertically. Mr. Torr. (*op. cit.* p. 41, n. 100), quoting Athenaeus, v. 37, Vitruvius, x. 15, 6, and Plato, *Civitas*, p. 616 C, affirms that they extended ‘from stem to stern along the starboard side and back from stern to stem along the port side’; but, as he truly says, they

could not have been so fastened during a storm. Some fifteen years ago, when the use of ὑποζώματα was being discussed in the *Athenaeum*, I went into the Young Street Station of the London Fire Brigade and had a talk with one of the men, who, like every man in the force, had been a sailor. I asked him (knowing what the answer would be) whether, in the operation of frapping a ship during a gale, the cable could usefully be passed from stem to stern. He looked silently at me in blank amazement; and his look said, ‘Are you an amiable lunatic?’ Only he would have used other words. I told him that I knew what I was talking about, and that my question only embodied a suggestion made by others. Then he replied, ‘To pass a cable round a ship from stem to stern would be impossible in a gale, and if it could be done it wouldn't be of no use. I've served in the timber trade myself between Hull and Norway, and helped in the job. It's done with a chain cable, and you make three or four turns round the hull.’ Cf. J. Smith, *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 1880, pp. 108-9, 210-5.

⁴ See J. Smith, *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 1880, p. 141, n. 2.

group of Caesar's cavalry transports, which must have been struck repeatedly by heavy seas? Still, although I dissent from this part of M. Vars's book, I agree with him that there is nothing in the narrative of St. Paul's voyage during the gale which proves that ancient ships could work to windward.

But the account of that stage of the voyage which immediately preceded the gale is very significant. The ship had reached Fair Havens, or Kalo Limniones, as it is still called, in Crete. This anchorage is about east by north of Cape Matala, or (which comes to the same thing) of a point intermediate between it and Cape Matala.¹ 'When the south wind blew softly,' says the writer, 'supposing that they had obtained their purpose, loosing thence they sailed close by Crete.'² 'The south wind' is a vague expression; but, according to one reckoning then in vogue, it denoted a wind which blew from any point within fifteen degrees of due south on either side. If the wind was due south, St. Paul's ship must have sailed within less than seven points of it in order to weather Cape Matala. If it was a little west of south, which M. Vars³ candidly remarks is probable, she must have sailed nearer still.

Again, when the writer of *Acts*⁴ says that the ship 'could not face the wind'—the literal translation is 'could not look into the wind' (μη δυναμένου ἀντοφθαλμεῖν τῷ ἀνέμῳ)—does he not imply that in moderate weather she could have worked to windward?⁵

The passage relating to Caesar's cavalry transports which I quoted at the beginning of this paper deserves more consideration than it has received. From what point was the gale blowing? Evidently from between the east and north. For if it had blown from any point between the north and west, it could not have driven the transports westward; and if it had blown from any point south of east or west, those transports would have been in imminent danger of going ashore, whereas they were in fact able to stand out to sea from off the south coast and get back to the continent: on the other hand, it would have been utterly impossible, against a southerly, a south-easterly, or a south-westerly gale, either for these ships or for those which were carried back to the port from which they had started, to fetch the French coast. If the wind had blown from north-east by north, or from any more northerly point, those which ran before it would have been sheltered under the lee of the cliffs west of the South Foreland. If it had blown from east by north, none of the ships could have got back to their starting-point unless they could work to windward. Let us therefore suppose that it blew from some point between north-east by east and east-north-east. Let us also assume—what I have proved in *Ancient Britain*—that the port from which the cavalry transports started was Ambleteuse; for if it was any other

¹ See the French Government map, *Île de Crète* (1855), issued by the *Service géographique de l'armée*.

² *Acts*, xxvii. 13.

³ *L'art nautique*, etc., p. 202 (Breusing, p. 163).

⁴ xxvii. 15.

⁵ Suidas, a lexicographer of the tenth century,

implies the same when he says (*Lexicon*, ed. G. Bernhardt, i. 1853, p. 335) that the word ἀνακωχεῖν is used 'when there is a storm at sea, and a ship is allowed to drift under bare poles *without attempting to make head against it* (ὅταν χειμῶνος ὄντος ἐν πελάγει στείλαντες τὰ ἄρμενα σαλεύωσιν αὐτοὶ μὴ διαμαχόμενοι τῷ πνεύματι).

they could by no possibility have fetched it unless they could work to windward, nor even then unless they could lie much closer to the wind than a modern square-rigged vessel. For the same reason I assume—what I have also proved—that Caesar's camp was near Walmer or Deal: those who place it at Hythe or Lympne or Pevensey commit themselves not only to many other absurdities but also to the belief that the Gallic transports could work to windward as well as, if not better than, a modern lugger or a Thames barge.¹ Now since the camp was near Walmer, the transports, when they were descried from it, must have been off the South Foreland or a little to the north of it, and about north by west of Ambleteuse. Therefore their true course would have lain between twelve and nine points of the wind; and if they could not work to windward and therefore could not lie to, they would have had to sail with the wind from one to four points abaft the beam, assuming that they made no lee-way. But if their true course had been only nine points off the wind, they must have made some lee-way in the gale and under short canvas, and, to allow for it, would have had to sail with the wind abeam or even to windward. To sail in such weather with the wind four points abaft the beam, that is, on the quarter, would have been about as dangerous a course as can be imagined: if the vessels which ran before the wind were in great peril, vessels sailing at this angle would have been in peril greater still; yet it is evident from Caesar's narrative that they were comparatively secure. Again, for these small vessels to sail with the wind abeam or nearly abeam would have been very hazardous: it is to avoid such a risk that ships in like circumstances are laid to. Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge has, however, suggested to me that they did sail with the wind nearly abeam; for he believes, I do not know why, that ancient ships could not work to windward. When I asked him how he would dispose of the question of danger, he replied that Caesar probably exaggerated the force of the wind. But Caesar was a very careful observer, and had had considerable experience of navigation: when he wrote that some of the transports had been 'in great peril' he doubtless followed the reports of their commanders; and the wind, whatever its force may have been, was strong enough to drive ashore and to wreck ships which were anchored, probably, like those of the Veneti,² with chain cables. Is it not safer to accept his statement than to rewrite it without any evidence? Except Sir Cyprian Bridge, all the nautical experts whom I consulted agreed that the transports which 'were carried back to the point from which they had started' would, if they could work to windward, have been laid to; and ships engaged in the tin-trade between the mouth of the

¹Rice Holmes, *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar*, 1907, pp. 613, 624-5, 740-1. I may add to what is written on pp. 740-1 that my friend and former pupil, Mr. W. H. Stuart Garnett, who is not only a thorough seaman but an accomplished mathematician, assures me that not even a racing cutter, such as Fyfe's *Shamrock*, can lie within less than about $3\frac{1}{4}$ points in fairly smooth water

consistently with going to windward effectively. 'In a light air,' he adds, 'and in *perfectly* smooth water such a boat would actually lie much closer (I should say 2 points off), but will go so slowly that it is no use for the purpose of getting anywhere. If there is the least sea, the driving force is not enough to put her through it.'

²*B.G.* iii. 13, § 5.

Loire and Cornwall¹ would have fared badly if they had not been able to lie to when a north-easterly gale was blowing. To drift into the Atlantic with a sea anchor would not have been helpful. Consider what is involved in the admission, necessitated as it is by direct and trustworthy evidence, that ancient ships could sail with the wind abeam. It implies, as I have already observed, either that in so sailing they often drifted out of their course or that they sailed to windward in order to counteract the effect of lee-way. Shallow beamy vessels like those which Caesar designed for his second expedition to Britain were doubtless unable to make good a course within less than eight points of the wind. But when a ship of ordinary depth can sail with the wind abeam the discovery cannot but follow that even when the wind is blowing at an acute angle with her direction she will, when the yards are braced, still go ahead; and the discovery once made must have been utilized. Caesar makes a statement in his *Civil War*,² which, conjoined with those that I have already examined, is, to my mind, decisive. Calenus, he says, embarked an army at Brundisium (Brindisi), intending to sail to Apollonia on the opposite coast. After he had gone a short distance he met a dispatch vessel (doubtless a galley, which had oars as well as sails), bearing a note from Caesar, which warned him to put back. Thereupon he returned to Brundisium; but a vessel which was sailing under his escort ran on and was captured. Unless Calenus had sailed from Brundisium with the wind exactly abeam, he had to beat up against it on his way back; for the few oars which merchant ships sometimes used in going about³ would hardly have availed him. Finally, there is a passage in the *Etymologiae*⁴ of Isidore of Seville, a writer of the early seventh century, which, if I do not misinterpret it, proves that the art not only of working to windward but also of tacking was known to the ancients. 'The artemon,' he says, 'was contrived rather in order to direct the ship than to increase its speed' (*Artemon dirigendae potius navis causa commentatum quam celeritatis*). A sailor who knew that the *artemon* was a small foresail or something between a foresail and a jib would at once perceive the significance of this text. When a ship was going about in tacking and had come right up into the wind, the effect of such a sail would be to make her 'pay off,' that is, to drive her off the wind and bring her round on the other tack. If she failed to pay off, she would of course miss stays and begin to go astern. It is perhaps just possible that Isidore's words might be taken as meaning that the *artemon* helped to balance the other sail or sails; but the meaning which I attach to them seems much more natural.

It may be objected (though the objection will not come from a seaman) that if ancient ships had been able to tack they would not have been, as they frequently were, compelled to put back to ports from which they had started, or unable, like Caesar's cavalry transports, to sail from one port to another only five miles distant. But, judging simply from accounts of voyages which are to

¹ See my *Ancient Britain*, pp. 499-514.

² iii. 14, §§ 1-2.

³ C. Torr, *Ancient Ships*, p. 20.

⁴ xix. 4.

be found in histories, books of travel, and official archives,¹ a lay reader of a future generation, if he were not aware that sailing-vessels of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries could sail within about six points of the wind, might be inclined to infer that they could not work to windward at all. Unless we were thoroughly acquainted with all the relevant facts relating to the accounts in ancient books of unsuccessful or circuitous voyages—the force of the wind, the strength and direction of the current, the build, rig, and quality of the ship, whether anything was to be gained by tacking, and whether tacking could have been safely attempted by captains who had no compasses—we could not form an opinion of their capabilities. Where the wind was not too strong and tacking was safely practicable, as in the Archipelago or in working along a shore like the south of Asia Minor, I have no doubt that it was resorted to.

T. RICE HOLMES.

¹ For example, in those which are quoted *passim* in Capt. Desbrière's *Projets et tentatives de débarquement*, etc.

[NOTE.—Mr. Torr, who has been so kind as to read this article, writes :

‘I have been very much interested in the proof. There are just three points in it to which I may draw your attention.

I. The article is hardly complete without a discussion of Aristotle, *mechanica*, 8 (quoted, *Ancient Ships*, p. 96, n. 206).

II. In Caesar, *B.G.* iv. 28, you take *aliae—aliae—quae* as some—the others—they, *i.e.* these others. It strikes me as possible to take this as some—others—others again. In that case it would mean that some of the ships were driven one way and some another; others, however, anchored, but found afterwards that they could not ride out the gale, and therefore stood out to sea.

III. As to *χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος*, I think it would be well to refer to Procopius, *B.V.* i. 17, *χαλάσαντας τὰ μεγάλα ἱστία*, and Thucydides, vii. 24, viii. 43, as to using *σκεῦη* for the sails and things belonging to them (passages quoted in *Ancient Ships*, pp. 86, 87, nn. 184, 189).’

The passage in Aristotle runs as follows: *διὰ τί, ὅταν ἐξ οὐρίας βούλωνται διαδραμεῖν μὴ οὐρίου τοῦ πνεύματος ὄντος, τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὸν κυβερνήτην τοῦ ἱστίου μέρος στέλλονται, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν πρόραν ποδιαῖον* [for which Mr. Torr, referring to Lycophron, 1015, would read *ποδωτὸν*] *ποιησάμενοι ἐφιάσιν; ἢ διότι ἀντισπᾶν τὸ πηδάλιον πολλῶ μὲν ὄντι τῷ πνεύματι οὐ δύναται, ὀλίγῳ δὲ διδὲ ὑποστέλλονται; προάγει μὲν οὖν τὸ πνεῦμα, εἰς οὐριον δὲ καθίστησι τὸ πηδάλιον, ἀντισπῶν καὶ μοχλεῖον τὴν θάλατταν. Ἄμα δὲ καὶ οἱ ναῦται μάχονται τῷ πνεύματι ἀνακλίνουσι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐνάντιον ἑαυτοῦς.* I translate ‘Why do sailors, when they want to make a good run in spite of an unfavourable wind, furl the after part of the sail, make fast the fore part by the sheet, and give it free play? Do they furl the sail because the rudder cannot counteract a strong wind, but only a light one? The truth is that the wind makes the vessel forge ahead, while the rudder makes the wind, as it were, favourable, drawing the sea in the opposite direction and acting like a lever. At the same time the crew also contend with the wind, leaning their weight in the opposite direction.’ The yard was of course braced round so as to bring it towards a

line with the axis of the vessel. On first reading the passage, I was inclined to infer from the last sentence (which seems to imply that the crew sat to windward) that it was an attempt to explain the theory of beating to windward. But I cannot understand why the after part of the sail was furled. Supposing that the wind which Aristotle calls unfavourable blew from any point abaft the beam, what was the use of brailing up the after part of the sail, thereby sacrificing three-fourths of its area (for the part that remained unfurled would necessarily have assumed a quasi-triangular shape)? Supposing, on the other hand, that the object was to beat to windward, surely the fore part of the sail, if it alone had been left standing, would have driven the vessel's head off the wind? In fact it would have tended to do so even in the other case. I am not rash enough to suggest that Aristotle meant the reverse of what he said.]

T. R. H.

SENECA'S LETTERS: NOTES AND EMENDATIONS.

(Continued from Vol. II. p. 30.)

li. 1. tu istic habes Aetnam †et illuc nobilissimum Siciliae montem.

Chatelain's *editum ac* is almost certainly on the right road. But *editum* seems a little feeble: *inclitum* would be a good deal better, and very easy palaeographically, if we bear in mind the probability of the first syllable's being absorbed in the last letter of *Aetnam*. But an adjective linked with a superlative like *nobilissimum* ought, if not itself a superlative, at any rate to have somewhat similar force: *eximium* would satisfy this condition. The confusion of *i* or single strokes of *u* and *m* with *l* is not uncommon in these MSS.: cp. esp. 47. 10, where all have *illis* for the necessary *uis* which Macrobius gives.

liii. 6. leuis aliquem motiuncula decipit, sed cum creuit et uera febris exarsit, etiam duro et perpessicio confessionem †excipit.

So pLV, except that p has *aliquam*, pL *motiunculam* or *-lum*, L *exceptit*.

There is no objection to the figure involved in 'a slight ailment deceives one,' but to speak of the ailment afterwards as 'wresting a confession' from us is too violent a change. It is clear that the *person* is the deceiver, and the very slight change to *aliqua* (cp. p's reading) and *decipitur* secures all we need.¹ For the constant omission or intrusion of *-ur* in these MSS. see my note on V 5 (p. 23): it generally occurs before a full stop, but cp. 85. 15, where VP Parb agree in wrongly omitting it before a pause much less decided than the one before *sed* here.

Agricola's conjecture *exprimit* for *excipit*, which Hense does not admit to his text, I regard as certain: Seneca uses the verb at least twice with *confessio* (in *Clem.* I. 1. 7 as here with a dative) and readings like *depmit* (79. 10) and *pmunt* (85. 38) shew how readily *exprimit* would become *expmit*, after which *expicit* and *excipit* would follow easily enough. *Accipit* which some edd. read, and *exigit*, which had occurred to me, would require the insertion of *a* before *duro*.

§. 9. 'You mustn't think you can make philosophy attend your leisure: exercet regnum suum: dat tempus, non accipit. non est res subsequa . . . domina est, adest et iubet.'

¹For the order cp. 83. 7 'subita aliqua et uniuersa . . . tenuemque motum,' *Hel.* 17. 1 'leuis aliqua desiderii uoce,' *Ira* I. 16. 7 'sentiet leuem quemdam . . . nota.'

Hense adopts the suggestion of Haase (approved by Madvig) *adesse iubet*. The sense is good, but the rhythm very exceptional in Seneca. If the MSS. reading cannot mean 'comes up of itself and issues its orders' (for which cp. 78. 27 *mors adcedit et vocat*: but I admit one would expect *ultra*), then I would suggest *adest ut libet*.

§ 10. 'Alexander, when a deputation offered him half the lands of their city, replied "eo proposito . . . ueni ut non id acciperem quod dedissetis, sed ut id haberetis quod reliquisset." idem philosophia rebus omnibus: non sum hoc tempus acceptura quod etc.'

Rebus has been much worried: Haupt proposed *uerbis*, Wolters *uobis*, Buecheler *regibus*: Hense whilst accepting none of these obelises the text. But surely it is sufficiently defended by § 8 'illi (=philosophy) te totum dedica . . . *omnibus aliis rebus* te nega, fortiter, aperte.' The thought is the same in both passages, though the image varies. Here the picture is that of the *other* occupations claiming a certain amount of time and leaving to philosophy only any fraction that they do not require.

liv. 6. Seneca has had a bad attack of palpitation: 'deinde paulatim suspirium illud quod esse iam anhelitus coeperat, interualla maiora fecit et retardatum est ac remansit.'

As *remanere* never means 'come to a standstill,' I propose *remisit*, the regular word for the abatement of disease, etc.: Liv. 2. 34. 6 (*pestilentia*), Cic. *Brut.* 130 (*dolores pedum*), Cels. 7. 18 (*tumor*).

lv. 4. Seneca describes the villa in which Vatia, he says, buried himself alive rather than enjoyed retirement. 'The crowd applies the epithets *otiosus*, *securus*, *sibi uiuens*, etc., to every person who has retired from public life, but they belong in reality only to the *sapiens*. ille sollicitus scit sibi uiuere. ille enim quod est primum scit uiuere.'

The ordinary punctuation is adopted above: Hense very naturally remarks that we should expect 'ille *solus non sollicitus*,' etc. An easier remedy is to take both sentences interrogatively (and so virtually as negatives). *Ille* is then not the *sapiens*, but Vatia, who, as Seneca makes clear in § 5, is not really *securus* but is suffering from jealousy, greed, lust, etc.: cp. too 56. 11-12. 'Do you think an uneasy fool like this knows how to live for himself? Why, does he know the first part of the lesson even, how to live at all?' For this ironical *enim*, which is not uncommon in Seneca, cp. esp. 77. 18 '*nunc enim uiuis*?' 'Why, do you think you're alive now?'

§ 6. speluncae sunt duae . . . †cuius laxo atrio pares.

I suggest *quamuis*, which Seneca uses pretty often with adjectives to denote 'ever so' 'the most . . . you can imagine': cp. e.g. 85. 12 *quamuis leuia initia morborum serpunt, et aegra corpora minimum interdum mergit adaccessio*.' If read *quum-* (or *quom-*) *uis* it would become *cūuis*, of which *cuius* would be a

most probable outcome. In § 13 of the next letter *quem* has become *cum* in pLV. Lipsius' *cuius* is as good palaeographically, but seems to me less Senecan.

lvi. 2. Seneca, who is lodging over a bath, has given a vivid description of the various sounds that issue from it, the slaps of the *massageur*, the counting of the ball player, the touting calls of the *depilator*. Then our MSS. make him say

'iam biberari uarias exclamationes et botularium et crustularium et omnes popinarum institores mercem sua quadam et insignita modulatione uendentis. "O te" inquis "ferreum aut surdum,"' etc.

Caelius Rhodiginus suggested (*iam*) *libarii*. That the word is not found elsewhere is not against it, for the same applies to its companions here. But (1) the *libarius*, like the sausage-seller and the muffin-man, will have a special call of his own, not *uariae exclamationes*, and (2) we still miss the verb that governs all these accusatives. That *liberari* involves *enumerare* I feel certain. The active and passive infin. terminations are continually interchanged in these MSS., and the confusion of *b* and *m* (natural enough in view of the frequency of the confusion of *b* with *u* and *n*) is found, e.g., in 78. 6 (*borbi*) and 88. 39 (*haeremo*). As for the verb to govern this infinitive, I think it must be *piget*, which might fall out before *iam* after the *cogit* which ends the previous sentence.

lxiii. 4. 'We must try and make the memory of our dead a pleasure, else we shall be trying to forget them: nemo libenter ad id redit quod non sine tormento cogitaturus est. †sicut illud fieri necesse est, ut cum aliquo nobis morsu amissorum . . . nomen occurrat. sed hic quoque morsus habet suam voluptatem.'

For *sicut* Hense reads *sic et*, which does not seem to me to improve matters: it could not be equivalent to *sic quoque*, and I fail to see what force the collocation could have.

Just above Seneca imagines an opponent, who says 'quid ergo? obliuiscar amici?' I think this same opponent now says 'I know what you say is true, but all the same . . .', and we get this if we read '*scio: at . . . occurrat.*' Cp. Sen. *Contr.* 7. 2. 11 'dixi "Cicero me defendit": respondit, "scio: me accusauit,"' and esp. Teles 47 H, where the reply begins Ναὶ ἀλλὰ. . . . The concessive *scio* occurs (parenthetically) in 66. 50 again.

lxxvi. 5. Seneca says he is 'going to school' even at his age. 'Perge, Lucili, et propera tibi †nec tibi accidat quod mihi, ut senex discas.'

The usual remedy is to drop the first *tibi* and read *ne*. Hense reads *tibi ne et ipsi*, but the emphasis on *tibi* is surely sufficient without the addition of *ipsi*. I think *nec* is simply a confusion for *ne* (*h*)*oc*, the second *tibi* having crept in owing to the unusual position of the other.

Continuing, Seneca says 'immo ideo magis propera quoniam id non adgressus es quod perdiscere uix senex possis.'

At first I thought this might be right: he says at first 'go on and make good speed,' then corrects himself and, omitting 'go on,' says 'make haste the more, as the job you haven't (yet) started is one that you will hardly be able to complete if you live to a great age.' But this would surely require *nondum*. Buecheler's *diu non*, adopted by Hense, seems to me a very unnatural expression for *sero*, so I suggest 'quoniam id *negotium* adgressus es,' etc. Cp. 47. 9 'ingens negotium in manibus est,' 51. 6 'si quis sibi proposuerit quantum operis adgressus sit.'

lxxvii. 10. 'saepe debemus mori nec uolumus, morimur nec uolumus.'

The contrast being *debemus mori* and *morimur* is thoroughly Senecan, but so is the particle *immo*, which should be read I think after the first *uolumus*. Cp. 120. 17 'nihil satis est morituris, immo morientibus.'

lxxviii. 8. 'maximi dolores consistunt in macerrimis corporis partibus: nerui articuli et quidquid aliud exile est, acerrime saeuit, cum in arto uitia concepit.'

So the MSS., and edd., including Hense. But the singular *saeuit* is quite opposed to Senecan syntax. Of course it is easy to change to *saeuiunt*, but is *saeuire* the natural verb to use of the parts themselves? One finds it used with *amor*, *fames*, *febris*, *morbis*, *ueneniam*, above all *dolor*, but I cannot find an expression like the one in the text. I believe *saeuit* is a corruption for *sentit* (*sc.* corpus), the last seven words forming a separate clause. This change will necessitate the further alteration *neruis articulisque* in the clause *nerui—est*, which will now be in apposition to *partibus*. 'The greatest pain settles in the finest parts of the body—sinews, joints, etc. The body feels most acutely when it goes wrong in some fine part.'

Going on, Seneca notes that these parts soon get numbed and gives two possible reasons. The one we are concerned with is this: 'spiritus naturali prohibitus cursu et mutatus in peius uim suam, qua *uiget* admonetque nos, perdit.'

The 'point' that a thing's *uis* is that through which it—*viget* is not to be imputed to Seneca. Probably *uiget* has displaced *urget*: cp. for this word 97. 15 'illum sollicitudo urguet ac uerberat.'

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

THE LEGIONS OF THE EUPHRATES FRONTIER.

IN a recently-published work of much learning and great interest, *La Frontière de l'Euphrate de Pompée à la Conquête Arabe* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1907), M. Victor Chapot has dealt at some length with the history of the eastern legions. But neither he, nor, so far as I can find, any other writer, has attempted to fix their camps with full regard to chronology, and many points have been left uncertain. Although there is little direct evidence—less than for any other part of the Roman Empire—it may be possible to construct with reasonable probability a more exact military map of the eastern frontier.

I. *The Legions of Cappadocia and Galatia.*

Up to Vespasian's reign the regular garrisons of these provinces consisted of auxiliaries only, commanded partly by the praetorian legatus of Galatia, partly by the procurator of Cappadocia; though legionaries were also often present in force, when occasion required. Corbulo's wars led Nero to prepare the way for a new system by annexing in 63 the kingdoms of Pontus, Sophene, and probably Armenia Minor,¹ thus establishing direct Roman control along the whole line of the upper Euphrates. It was left for Vespasian, as Suetonius tells us, to 'add legions' to Cappadocia as a permanent garrison, a record confirmed by Tacitus when he says of these provinces in 69: 'inermes legati regebant, nondum additis Cappadociae legionibus.'² We learn also from Suetonius that the Cappadocian procurator was at the same time superseded by a consular governor, who by constitutional rule was alone capable of commanding more than one legion. The evidence that there were at least two legions is thus complete.

Yet doubts have been raised, partly because only one legion is directly recorded, but mainly because among the Flavian governors of the Cappadocian province there appear to be some of praetorian rank only. M. Cumont therefore in a recent article³ tries to explain away Tacitus and Suetonius. Tacitus, he says, was thinking of the two legions which were in garrison when he wrote, and was thus guilty of anachronism; while Suetonius mistook the boundaries of Cappadocia, including therein Samosata with its legion, to which we shall return presently. The occasional appearance of a consular governor among the

¹ Suet. *Nero* 18; *CIL* iii 6741-2-3 with notes—the new reading 'Arsamosata' in Dio Cassius (see *infra*) agrees; *CIL* iii 306 (cf. p. 975) now better read by Cumont (cf. n. 3 *infra*), proves that Armenia Minor was provincial at least by 76 A.D.

² Suet. *Vesp.* 8; Tac. *H.* ii 81.

³ *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres de l'Acad. Royale de Belgique*, 1905 pp. 197 ff.

praetorians is due he thinks to the temporary presence of extra troops. The necessity for such explanations is obviated by Ritterling's view,¹ which is certainly correct, that the praetorian governors in question were only 'legati iuridici' subordinate to the consulars, though as the inscriptions show they had the whole province for their diocese. A similar office was instituted by Vespasian in Britain and perhaps in Tarraconensis for the relief of overburdened consulars; it was no less necessary here.

As to the first of the two legions there is no dispute. It was the XII Fulminata, sent by Titus to Melitene in Cappadocia in the autumn of 70, after the fall of Jerusalem, where it had been engaged.² The second was in all probability, as Domaszewski supposes,³ the newly created XVI Flavia Firma. It is often assigned, it is true, to Samosata in Commagene from the annexation in 72; but there is no evidence for that position earlier than Ptolemy, about 150 A.D., and another legion, as we shall see, was probably there until the end of Trajan's reign. The XVI Flavia must have contained a considerable remnant of the disbanded XVI Gallica—the detachment which had fought for Vitellius in Italy and was thus free from the stain of mutiny. These men would have no claim upon Vespasian's gratitude; he was not likely to transfer them from the hardships of Germany to the easy service of Syria. The upper Euphrates would suit his policy much better, being a post of danger as well as far away from old scenes.⁴ The XII Fulminata had been sent from Syria to Melitene as a punishment for defeat by the Jews in 66; similarly Claudius had once threatened to transfer five auxiliary regiments from Judaea to Pontus.⁵ In the great dearth of inscriptions from the eastern frontier it is not surprising that the forty years' sojourn of the XVI Flavia on the upper Euphrates should have left no trace. There is no record of the XII Fulminata yet discovered at Melitene, where it lay for several centuries. Only one inscription⁶ can be quoted as affording even a slight presumption in favour of our view. It records a centurion who served successively in the legions XV Apollinaris in Pannonia, V Macedonica in Moesia, and XVI Flavia. He reached the last-named late in Domitian's reign. Pannonia bordered on Moesia, and Moesia was in close military connexion, both by land and sea, with the upper Euphrates; geographical probability therefore points to Cappadocia as the third province of service. No legion is available for this position other than the XVI Flavia: it can hardly have been ready to take up its quarters before the middle of 71. The XV Apollinaris replaced it under Trajan, and remained permanently.

Some who assign the XVI Flavia to Syria from the first suppose that the XV Apollinaris came to Cappadocia much earlier, even under Vespasian.⁷ But

¹ *Jahreshefte des Österr. Archäol. Instituts* x 1907 pp. 299 ff.

² Josephus *B.J.* vii 18.

³ *Korrespondenzblatt d. Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* xi, 1892, 115; followed by Gsell (doubtfully) *Domitien* p. 157, and by Cagnat in Daremberg et Saglio s.v. *Legio*; but without discussion.

⁴ Tac. *H.* ii 80, 'ut Germanicas legiones in Suriam ad militiam opulentam quietamque transferret.' Cf. iii 46 for Vespasian's policy.

⁵ Jos. *Ant.* xix 365.

⁶ *CIL* iii 7397.

⁷ E.g. Chapot *op. cit.* p. 74 n. 5; J. A. R. Munro, *Journ. of Hell. Studies* xxi 1901 p. 61 n. 3.

this contradicts the direct statement of Josephus, that Vespasian sent it to Pannonia, and the clear evidence of inscriptions that it remained there until the second century.¹

Where was the camp? Hardly at Melitene; Domitian's law against double camps would have forbidden that from 89 at latest. There is no possible site to the southward. We must look northward, beyond Cappadocia proper. True, our authorities say that both legions were in Cappadocia. But the northern frontier districts were all in Cappadocia as distinct from Galatia when they wrote, and are indeed included therein by Pliny, who claims special knowledge here, writing under Vespasian; the population was in fact Cappadocian.² Contemporary inscriptions use the short term 'provincia Cappadocica' to include Galatia and its dependencies also,³ which were united with Cappadocia into one great double province by Vespasian. Domitian's return, late in his reign, to the old division affords some positive evidence. For since there could not have been two legions at Melitene, the *praetorian* legatus who was then set over the whole province except Cappadocia proper presumably commanded one. And this one can hardly have been elsewhere than upon the frontier in Armenia Minor.

A northern camp was indeed even more necessary than that of Melitene. The restlessness of the tribes on both sides of the Caucasus was a continual anxiety; probably the 'continuous inroads of barbarians' which Suetonius gives as Vespasian's motive for reorganising Cappadocia are to be referred mainly to this region, since for the moment there was secure peace and friendship with Parthia and Armenia. Philo, writing about 40 A.D., says that the Euphrates was the frontier not only against Parthia, but also against the Scythians and Sarmatians, who were as dangerous as the Germans on the Rhine.⁴ Nero's projected northern expedition through the Pass of Darial suggests danger from the Alani north of the Caucasus; though no raids by them are recorded so early, Lucan twice speaks of them as dangerous foemen. Even in Pompey's mouth his words have a contemporary application:

'— peterem cum Caspia claustra
Et sequerer duros aeterni Martis Alanos.'⁵

For the policy described, of friendship with Parthia and war in the north, was Nero's also. Anicetus' rising in 69 showed how frail was the allegiance of the petty kings south of the mountains. The embassies to Parthia and Armenia in that year were probably intended to provide not only against local freebooting but against the northern terror when the frontier was for the moment weakened. A few years later Pliny writes of the isthmus between the Euxine and the Caspian: 'Asia is made unsafe by that narrow neck of land.' He gives evidence

¹ Jos. *B.J.* vii 117; see my note in *Class. Quarterly* ii p. III.

² Plin. *N.H.* vi 8; Marquardt, *L'Organisation de l'Empire Rom.* ii p. 294 n. 7.

³ *CIG* 3548; Dittenberger *Orientalis Gr. Inscr. Selectae* 486 n.

⁴ Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium* p. 547 M.

⁵ Lucan viii 222-3, x 454.

of considerable Roman interest in Darial.¹ Statius' lines to Victorius Marcellus, who was looking forward to the command of a legion towards the end of Domitian's reign, are important here:

. . . 'Forsitan ibis . . .

Aut Histrum seruare latus *metuendaeque portae*

Limina Caspiacae. . . .'²

The Caspian Gate was not, of course, the pass in the north of Persia, which was quite beyond the Roman sphere, but Darial, to which the name was also applied: there was much confusion among the ancient authorities between the 'Caspian' and 'Caucasian' Gates. And if Darial was within the province of a Roman legatus, a legion must have been comparatively near, if it had not detachments on the spot. Roman troops, possibly legionaries, were in fact at Harmozika (Tiflis), the capital of Iberia (which controlled Darial), in 75.³

The cumulative evidence for a northern camp is thus very strong; and no site can be suggested except Satala in Armenia Minor. It was a great place of arms before Trajan began his eastern campaigns; and we know of no occasion save this for its creation. It was certainly the permanent camp of the legio XV Apollinaris from Trajan's time. It commanded the highway from the west which led by Elegia into the heart of Armenia—a way followed by successive hordes of eastern invaders in earlier⁴ as in later days. It was in easy communication with the sea at Trapezus. And some direct evidence is afforded by a milestone of 76 A.D. which has been found on a road leading towards it (though forty miles distant), proving military occupation of the neighbourhood at that date.⁵ Hence we conclude that the XVI Flavia Firma was encamped at Satala from 71.⁶

II. *The Legions of Syria.*

The original establishment for Syria under Augustus consisted of three legions, III Gallica, VI Ferrata, and X Fretensis. By 23 A.D. a fourth had been added, the XII Fulminata.⁷ None of them was encamped upon the frontier; the VI Ferrata lay near Laodicea ad mare, perhaps at Apamea; the X Fretensis at Cyrrhus, the XII Fulminata at Raphanae;⁸ the III Gallica cannot be located in this period. The IV Scythica came with others for Corbulo's wars, but it alone remained permanently. Then in Vespasian's redistribution the X Fretensis became the permanent garrison of Jerusalem and, as

¹ Tac. *H.* ii 82; Plin. *N.H.* vi 30, 31 'tantis iterum angustiis infestatur Asia' ('iterum' refers to a geographical misconception of the shape of Asia Minor; the Gulf of Issus was made to run too far north).

² Statius, *Silvae* iv 4, 61.

³ *Inscript. Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes* (IGR) iii 133=Dessau 8795.

⁴ Strabo xi 8. 3-4 p. 779.

⁵ *CIL* iii 306, cf. n. 1 supra.

⁶ For Satala in general see Yorke in *Geog. Jour.* viii p. 459; Hogarth in *Athenaeum* 1894 ii p. 73 and *A Wandering Scholar* p. 136; Munro in *J.H.S.* 21 (1901) p. 61.

⁷ Josephus *Ant.* xvii 286 ff. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 5; cf., generally, Cagnat s.v. Legio in *Daremberg et Saglio*.

⁸ Tac. *Ann.* ii. 79; ii 57; Jos. *B.J.* vii 18.

we have seen, the XII Fulminata of Melitene. The legions were thus reduced to three, their original number: the III Gallica, IV Scythica, and VI Ferrata.

Before the Jewish war the X Fretensis had been advanced from Cyrrhus to the Euphrates.¹ When it was ordered south, its place on the river was immediately filled. For before the siege of Jerusalem Titus could draw 3,000 'guards' from the Euphrates, who must have been legionaries like those whom they replaced in Judaea.² The camp was probably at Zeugma, a place of prime importance for its crossing of the Euphrates. It had witnessed Crassus' passage to the field of Carrhae. It had been occupied in force by Corbulo as by previous generals; for a Parthian invasion, always possible by this route, had seemed imminent in 62. This gives a special point to Lucan's lines, written soon afterwards, which he puts into the mouth of Pompey:

— Nunc Parthia ruptis
Excedat claustris uetitam per saecula ripam
Zeugmaque Pellaeum.'

Titus visited Zeugma in 70, to meet a Parthian embassy: there would be an imposing military force to do him honour. A few years later Statius calls Zeugma 'Latinae pacis iter' and implies that it was a place of arms; and Trajan made it his base for a march into Mesopotamia.³ Some more direct evidence will be mentioned presently.

The legion at Zeugma must have been the IV Scythica. It was the only Syrian legion not fully employed either in Judaea with Titus or in the west with Mucianus. Naturally it had replaced the X Fretensis on the frontier; and Titus drew upon it as his last reserve. It had previously supplied 2,000 men to Cestius Gallus in 66 for his abortive invasion of Judaea.

Josephus, indeed, does not identify more closely the 3,000 'guards.' But that the IV Scythica did send a detachment, otherwise unrecorded, to Jerusalem, may be proved by means of an inscription (C.I.L. XI 1834=Dessau 1000, from Arretium)—'. . . [T]i. f. Pom. Firmo | . . . c., tr. mil. leg. IIII | . . . ic. leg. Aug. Vesp., q. Aug., orn. praetoricis a senatu auctorib. | imperatorib. Vesp. et Tito adlect., | [ab eisd. i]mperator. d(onis) d(onato) coron. III aur. | [mur. classic]a, hast. pur. III, praetor., | [d](ecreto) d(ecurionum).'—In lines 2 and 3 Domaszewski would read 'leg. IIII [Mac.? u]ic(e) leg(ati) Aug. Vesp(asiani).' But 'Mac.' can hardly stand, both because the legio IV Macedonica was disbanded without delay by Vespasian, and because of the military decorations, which were surely for the Jewish war. There is room enough for the letters 'Scyt.'

¹ Jos. *B.J.* vii 17. Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium* p. 576 M, says 'κελεύει (Petronium Gaius) τῆς παρ' Εὐφράτην στρατίας, ἥτις διὰ βασιῶν τῶν ἐψὼν βασιλέων καὶ ἐθνῶν παρέφυλαττε, τὴν ἡμισίαν ἀγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους.' But this is a general description of the whole Syrian army and cannot be pressed to prove that a legion lay on the river so early as 40 A.D.

² Jos. *B.J.* v 43-4.

³ Plin. *N.H.* v 86; Dio Cassius 40, 17; 49, 19;

Tac. *Ann.* xii 12, xv 9 with Furneaux' note; Lucan viii 235-7; Statius *Silvae* iii 2, 136; Regling in *Klio* i p. 453. Cf. Mommsen, *Provs.* ii p. 93, p. 118 n. 1.

⁴ Domaszewski in *Rhein. Museum* 1893 p. 343 n. 2. Ritterling (apud Steiner in *Bonn. Jahrb.* 114, 1906 pp. 51 ff.) agrees in reading 'u]ic(e) leg(ati)' against Dessau who has 'leg. IIII [Scyth]ic., leg. Aug. Vesp. . . .' which could hardly be right.

after IIII. It need not surprise us that Firmus is not named by Josephus among the leaders at Titus' famous council of war, there mentioned, but not separately specified, since he was not a full legatus, and may have been counted among the *χιλίαρχοι* there mentioned.¹

Even the absence of the legatus—to digress further for a moment—may be satisfactorily explained from contemporary history. The commander of the IV Scythica seems to have held some precedence, and to have been vice-gent of the consular governor of Syria. He acted in that capacity when the governor was absent during Hadrian's Jewish war; and even when an ex-quaestor was legatus in some emergency, probably under Trajan, the rule held good in his case also.² Now Josephus tells us that Gnaeus Collega, *πρεσβευτής τις*, distinguished himself by suppressing a riot at Antioch in 70 during the absence of the governor;³ and it may fairly be conjectured that he also was legatus of the legio IV Scythica, and had been left as deputy by Mucianus till a consular successor could be appointed. The 'praefectus castrorum' would according to rule be left in the camp at head-quarters; the location of which at Zeugma is further supported if the view stated above is correct. For Zeugma was in easy communication with Antioch, and more closely in touch with it than either of the other legionary depôts in Syria. It is not probable that there was a permanent camp at Antioch itself, though strong detachments must always have been within call. The XII Fulminata had been there in full force in 66, but evidently the occasion was only a general muster of the army for Judaea; its head-quarters were, as we have said, at Raphanaeae.⁴ In 265 A.D. a tribunus commanded the city garrison, which was therefore something less than a legion. In the sixth century there was no garrison at all.⁵

No trace has yet been discovered of the legion at Zeugma itself. But in the ancient quarries at Enesch, on the right bank of the Euphrates about twenty miles above Zeugma, there are several records of the IV Scythica, and none as yet discovered of any other legion.⁶ And hence would come the stone for frontier works farther down the stream, for the current above Zeugma is considerable. Inscriptions elsewhere make it clear that the legion was permanently in the north of Syria. There are two records of detachments sent by it to work on the great rock channel at Seleuceia-Pieria. One of its men is traceable at Beroea, another at Samosata. And it fought in Trajan's Parthian war.

A permanent strengthening of the frontier was thus instituted probably by

¹ Jos. *B.J.* vi 237. May this Firmus be identified with Avilius Firmus, legatus pro praetore of Lycia later under Vespasian (*IGR* iii 521, 725)? Our inscription need not be later than 74/5; and Firmus' Eastern experience makes this further appointment probable. It would accord with a usual practice under the Flavians; and *IGR* iii 554 records another tribune of the same legion who a few years later also became legatus at Lycia. *CIL* iii 335 names yet another tribune of the legion who was 'adlectus inter praetorios' by Vespasian in his censorship, probably for

services in 69/70, and was afterwards legatus pro praetore of Asia.

² *IGR* iii 174-5. *Ephemeris Epigr.* v 696 with Mommsen's n. = Dessau 1055.

³ Jos. *B.J.* vii 58.

⁴ *Ib.* ii 500, cf. vii 18. Mommsen, *Provs.* ii p. 119 is misleading; so also Chapot op. c. p. 73 n. 1.

⁵ *IGR* iii 1023; Procopius *B.P.* i 17, 22.

⁶ *CIL* iii 14396 e. Cumont in *Bull. de l'Acad. roy. de Belgique* Aug. 1907—this article I have not been able to see.

Corbulo; Nero's policy had begun to follow the same lines as on the Upper Euphrates. Here too the change was ratified and completed by Vespasian.

A new danger, indeed, had arisen. The Jews beyond the Euphrates were counted by millions, and their strength lay in northern Mesopotamia, where they were close to the Roman frontier. They were mainly descendants of the 'lost' ten tribes, settled there by their conquerors; but active propagandism directed from Jerusalem had also won multitudes of proselytes and leavened the whole population. The story of the correspondence between our Lord and Abgar, King of Edessa, and of the subsequent mission thither of Thaddaeus, one of the Seventy, may not be historical, though Eusebius believed it. But at least it illustrates the close connexion between Judaea and Mesopotamia.¹ Milton in 'Paradise Regained' (iii 381 ff.) makes Satan suggest these exiles as an instrument of empire:

'These if from servitude thou shalt restore
To their inheritance, then, nor till then,
Thou on the throne of David in full glory,
From Egypt to Euphrates and beyond,
Shalt reign, and Rome or Caesar not need fear.'

In actual history, Petronius the governor of Syria in 40 A.D. had thought it dangerous to provoke this community to hostility by armed interference at Jerusalem. The royal family of Adiabene on the Tigris, which included the great Jewish centre of Nisibis, became proselytes in Claudius' reign. In his speech to the Jews in 66, Agrippa told them that they could have no allies unless their hopes went beyond the Euphrates to their kinsmen in Adiabene. And such an alliance, even if possible, would be forbidden by Parthia as a breach of the treaty of peace. Yet some members of the royal house did lead a contingent to the war; when they were forced to surrender, Titus thought it necessary to take them to Rome as hostages.² There was thus good reason for precaution after the war, especially as many irreconcilables had fled from Roman rule across the river.³ The Parthian power even if friendly was too loosely knit to guarantee the conduct of all its vassals. The Jews of Mesopotamia did strike a blow at a very critical moment in the last years of Trajan.

With this new motive Vespasian could not wait events: he acted without delay. At his accession Commagene was still a dependent kingdom, and interrupted the direct Roman control of the frontier. Through it lay the communications between the legions of Syria and the new camps on the upper Euphrates, and its capital, Samosata, was a strong city which controlled a crossing of the river almost as important as that of Zeugma. Its immediate occupation was therefore necessary, despite the claims of its aged king, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the last representative of the House of Seleucus. On the pretext that there was a plot

¹Euseb. *H.E.* i 13, ii 1; cf. the 'Doctrine of Addai' tr. from the Syriac, a late document in its present form. Also Schürer in Hastings' *B.D.* v p. 92.

²Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium* pp. 576-8 M. *Jos. Ant.* 20, 17-53; *B.J.* ii 388-9 vi 356-7.

³Theophylact v 7, 7.

for rebellion and alliance with Parthia the country was suddenly invaded and annexed in 72.

The annexation almost implies that a legion was posted at Samosata forthwith. Ptolemy however is the earliest authority for this. Yet the only doubt which has been raised is due to a passage in Dio Cassius' epitomator, which states that Trajan, forty years later, μέχρι Σαμοσάτων προχωρήσας καὶ ἀμαχὶ αὐτὰ παραλαβὼν ἐς τὰ Σάταλα ἦλθε.¹ It is argued that Samosata either had no garrison, or that Rome had suffered initial reverses and lost the town to the Parthians.

In support of this view Mommsen (*Provinces* ii p. 67 n. 1) and Pelham (*Outlines of Roman History*⁴ p. 507 n.) quote Fronto (p. 207 Naber): 'Praeter huiusmodi dedecora malis proeliis ita perculsi fuerunt ut ad primum Parthorum conspectum terga uerterent. . . .' But this passage surely refers to the beginning of Verus' campaign, not Trajan's, as the whole context shows. The indiscipline and inefficiency described were due to Hadrian's too peaceful policy. Verus himself writes to Fronto (p. 132): 'Circa causas . . . belli diu commoraberis, et etiam ea quae nobis absentibus male gesta sunt. . . . Porro necessarium puto, quanto ante meum aduentum superiores Parthi fuerint, dilucere, ut quantum nos egerimus appareat.' Again, if Samosata had thus fallen, would Trajan have begun his campaign in Armenia? Also, Dio's word παραλαβὼν does not naturally mean 'having recovered' as Mommsen and Pelham would have it; ἀναλαβὼν would be required.

Fragmentary though the record is, it is incredible that it should thus refer to a town within the frontier, even if it had no garrison. The mention of Samosata has little point, since it lay near the beginning of Trajan's natural line of march if, as we may assume, he started from Antioch. It is as if one should say, 'He went from Liverpool to London via Crewe.' The context indicates rather a town in the Cappadocian sphere, and in Parthian territory. For the preceding section refers to Parthamasiris and the governor of Cappadocia; and the parallel account in the preceding chapter is introduced by the words ἐπεὶ δ' ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν.²

The emendation μέχρ' Ἀρσαμοσάτων solves the difficulty. It was first proposed by Gutschmid, and is now approved by Boissevain in his new text of Dio, and by Cumont.³ It is palaeographically probable and easy, for the substitution of the well-known name Samosata was almost certain to take place. And it fulfils the other requirements. For Arsamosata was just beyond the border of Roman Sophene, which belonged to Cappadocia, and to visit it Trajan had to leave his direct route by the Euphrates; hence its special mention, and παραλαβὼν is quite in point. So Samosata may have had its legion for anything that Dio says to the contrary.

Another difficulty might be raised on account of the privileges granted to Samosata. The titles 'Sacred,' 'Inviolable,' 'Self-governing' may not connote anything very substantial, but they would hardly be granted in the first century to a garrison town. Since, however, they are absent from the first imperial

¹ Dio Cassius 68, 19, 2.

Dio iii p. 207; Cumont, *Bull. de la Cl. des Lettres*

² Gutschmid, *Gesch. Trans.* p. 141; Boissevain's *de l'Ac. Roy. de Belgique* 1905 p. 219.

coinage of the town under Hadrian, and appear only from Pius' reign, we may assume that they did not come from Vespasian.

Which then was the legion? One MS of Ptolemy vouches for the XVI Flavia Firma, which was certainly there in later days.¹ But there is no evidence to connect it with Syria so early: it must rather, as we have seen, be assigned to Satala. The Antonine Itinerary² also records a legion at Samosata, but the number is corrupt. Yet though there are five variants, no copy reads XVI; perhaps therefore the reference is to the earlier period of the occupation. The readings VII and XII are impossible; III, IIII, and VI have to be considered. The III Gallica was probably in Commagene in 73, in whole or in part,³ when there was much extra work to be done; but as we shall see its depôt was in the south. The IV Scythica has indeed left one inscription at Samosata, but its headquarters were rather at Zeugma. The VI Ferrata was probably the first garrison of Samosata.

There is no evidence to show that this legion lay near Apamea later than 19 A.D. It has left one inscription at Raphanea, but this belongs rather to the earlier time before 70, and does not prove that it lay there in full force.⁴ The XII Fulminata was there before the Jewish war, and there was hardly a double camp. It is not likely that Vespasian would post only one legion out of three on the frontier. It is not recorded by what route the VI Ferrata returned from Italy in 70; but whether by land or sea, it may well have come to Antioch, where its presence would be very desirable in the interval before the Commagenian war; for the city was restless. To be employed as it was in a surprise march it must have lain at least in some northern camp. And naturally, having taken the lead in the conquest of Commagene, it was entrusted with the task of securing its permanence. No other legion is mentioned in Josephus' narrative. Shortly before this time it had received many recruits from Numidia,⁵ and it was therefore specially qualified for the Parthian frontier. It took part in Trajan's Parthian war. And it was only upon its transfer to Judaea,⁶ probably at the end of Trajan's

¹ Ptol. v 14 8 (Müller p. 967).

² Wesseling, *It. Ant.* p. 186 prints 'vii' but quotes with approval 2 MSS with 'iv' in his notes. Müller on Ptol. p. 967 b vouches for xii, vi, and iii.

³ *L'Année Epigraphique* 1903, 255, 256 (after Chapot).

⁴ *CIL* iii 14165¹³; cf. however Dussaud in *Rev. Archéologique* 1897 i p. 318, who thinks that the legion did lie at Raphanea in full force, at some time.

⁵ *Ib.* 1896, 10. Memorialis there referred to was later a proc. Corsicae under Vespasian.

⁶ See *Class. Quarterly* ii pp. 110-3. Lack of library facilities prevented me from discovering in time that the identification of 'Caparc.' in the inscr. there discussed (*CIL* iii 6814-6) with Caparcotia in Palestine had been already proposed by Ritterling in *Rhein. Mus.* 58, pp. 633-5. My main conclusion is thus confirmed, but it can claim the merit only of independence, not of priority. On two points I should be inclined to differ from Ritterling: (1) He

dates the new camp at Caparcotia from Hadrian's Jewish war, following von Rohden; (2) He identifies Caparcotia with Lejjun, supposing the former to have been the native and official name which afterwards disappeared before the popular 'Legio,' as 'Bett-horum' in Moab did also. This gets rid of a difficulty, it is true, though the Legio III Augusta in Africa would be a parallel for successive changes of camp in a comparatively short time. But (1) the native name of Lejjun was surely Megiddo, a name so famous that it could not have been displaced by Caparcotia; it is still used by Eusebius; while the name Caparcotia did not entirely disappear, as Müller's ref. on Ptol. ad loc. show—it had a parallel existence. And (2) the distances recorded by the Tabula Peutingeriana from Caesarea to Caparcotia and from Caparcotia to Scythopolis are more nearly correct for Kefr-kut than for Lejjun; and the route by Kefr-kut is the more direct. Hence it is better to follow the ordinary view and to suppose a change of camp.

reign, that the XVI Flavia came to Samosata and the XV Apollinaris took up the vacant camp at Satala.

The third Syrian legion, the III Gallica, had belonged to the province even in Antony's time,¹ but its camp cannot be fixed for a century afterwards. It was in all probability stationed at Raphaneae upon its return from Italy by sea early in 70. The XII Fulminata had previously lain there, but it was then absent in Judaea, and was soon to be sent to Melitene; the III Gallica took over the vacant camp. For it is placed there by Ptolemy, and we may fairly assume that the occupation had been continuous. No other site can be proposed in opposition. The inscriptions of the legion are very plentiful, for Syria, in all the southern districts of the province and rare in the northern. Titus probably visited Raphaneae on his northward progress in the autumn of 70; and the possibility that he reviewed the legion there is somewhat strengthened by the fact that one of its tribunes then or soon afterwards became his quaestor.² The younger Pliny was one of its tribunes in the early years of Domitian; he tells us that he was then intimate with Euphrates the philosopher, who was closely connected with Epiphaneia, only twenty miles distant from Raphaneae; even if he was then lecturing at Tyre there is still an argument for a southern camp.³ The XII Fulminata having been sent north in disgrace, the III Gallica, recruited mainly from Syria,⁴ and perhaps the senior legion of the garrison, was rewarded for its devotion to Mucianus and the new dynasty by receiving the easiest conditions of service among all the legions of the empire.

Thus the net result of the reorganisation of the eastern legions in 70 was that two legions, XII Fulminata and XVI Flavia Firma, were posted on the upper Euphrates where none had been before, at Melitene and Satala; the Syrian legions were reduced from four to three, and of the three, two, the IV Scythica and VI Ferrata, were posted on the frontier at Zeugma and Samosata, only the III Gallica being left in the interior, at Raphaneae. The X Fretensis was transferred to Jerusalem; and when about 117 the VI Ferrata went to Caparcotia, on the southern borders of Galilee, the XVI Flavia took its place, being itself succeeded by the XV Apollinaris from Pannonia. Thus the strength of the frontier garrisons remained unaltered.

When Septimius Severus finally annexed Mesopotamia and occupied it with two of the legiones Parthicae, the inner line of defence constituted by the camps at Zeugma and Samosata became superfluous. It was probably therefore about this time that the IV Scythica and the XVI Flavia were transferred southward, the former to Oresa, forty miles from Palmyra on the road to the Euphrates, the latter to Sura, where the road reaches the river. These are the positions recorded by the *Notitia* about 400 A.D., by which time the III Gallica also had been moved nearer to the desert, from Raphaneae to Danaba.

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¹ Plut. *Ant.* 42.

² Jos. *B.J.* vii 97; *CIL* vi 1348=Dessau 1003.

³ Plin. *Ep.* i 10 with Merrill's n. Cf. *Prosopographia*.

⁴ As may be inferred from Tac. *H.* iii 2.

MANILIAN VARIETIES.

I. MANILIVS AND VITEZIVS.

SINCE P. Thielscher, in *Philologus*, 1907, pp. 117, 128, supplies us with information about the Manilian MS. Palatinus 1711 (P), the importance of which he himself does not seem to comprehend, I should like to point out what an interesting MS. this is. 'It is to be suspected,' says Thielscher, 'that it offers interpolated readings.' It is not a matter of 'suspicion' at all. If Thielscher did not know it for himself, he could have learnt from Scaliger (1600), from Bentley, from Jacob, that the readings of P long ago received sufficient publicity to enable scholars to assign it to the 'interpolated' class of MSS. The *Variae Lectiones* of Junius (1589) is mostly occupied with the readings of P, and tells us all about P that we need know, save what Thielscher has himself added. From Thielscher we for the first time learn that P belonged to 'Johannes Archiepiscopus Strigoniensis,' and that it contains this subscription: 'legi et emendavi cum magistro Galeotto 1469.' Now just as Thielscher seems to know nothing of Junius, so he seems to have no idea who Johannes Strigoniensis is, though the reference to Galeotto and the year 1469 should at once have told him. If he had troubled to look at Schmitth's *Archiepiscopi* he would have found that, while Schmitth enumerates no less than six archbishops of Gran who bore the name John, yet the only one of them who fits the date 1469 is John IV. And John IV. is a famous person, being none other than that leader of the Hungarian Renaissance whom we commonly call Vitezius.

P thus carries us at once to the court of Matthias 'the Great,' and it takes us there at a moment of great literary interest. Matthias was founding the famous Ofen library. Vitezius was collecting in his own palace at Gran a library which rivalled in magnificence that of Ofen. Galeotto Marzio (the 'magister Galeottus' of the subscription to P) had been brought to Hungary at the instance of Janus Pannonius and made librarian of the Ofen collection. About the same time the fame of this library had attracted to the service of Matthias the foremost astronomer of his day and the first editor of Manilius—Johannes Mueller of Königsberg, i.e. Regiomontanus. Matthias, Galeotto, Vitezius were all keen astrologers. Of Vitezius indeed Schmitth says, 'astrologiae ad insaniam deditum fuisse accusant censores' (p. 272). Vitezius, whom the stars would seem to have made ambitious of a greater destiny in

politics than the unhappiness to which they in fact conducted him, died in 1471. In the same year Regiomontanus departed to Nuremberg. In 1474 Janus Pannonius died: and to that year probably is to be assigned Regiomontanus' edition of Manilius.

That edition is certainly not a transcript of P. It stands nearer to the Parisinus¹ than to P; and the edition the text of which most resembles P is the Romana prior of 1484. But the importance of P is that it seems to reveal to us the provenance of what we call the 'mixed' family of Manilian MSS.: and all the early editions derive from these 'mixed' MSS. The *mixed* family is a *Hungarian* family. The Belgian (GL) and Italian (M) families first meet and mingle in Ofen. The libraries of Ofen and Gran were destroyed almost as soon as they were made. Most of their books perished utterly. But of a good many of them we know that they are closely related to some of the Urbino books. Two Urbino MSS. of Manilius exist and have been examined. They are not, like P, 'mixed' MSS., but belong to the pure Italian family, and so connect with the literary circles of Florence. Now Matthias' library was very largely collected in the same circles: one volume is actually known to have come from the Florentine bookseller Vespasiano. Janus Pannonius, again, was intimately connected with the Poggian school. He was a pupil for many years of Guarino, and a close friend and fellow student of Francesco Barbaro: he was well known also to both Poggio and Cosmo de Medici. It is likely therefore that the astronomer-scholars of the Hungarian court brought from Italy to Ofen good copies of M. But whence comes the Belgian tradition which has affected P?

Regiomontanus was the pupil of another astronomer who was also an enthusiastic student of the Roman poets—Purbach. One of the most powerful of Purbach's patrons was the great Cardinal Cusa. Purbach for some time lived in his house. Now it happens that at Cusa (from which this Cardinal takes his name, and where he lies buried) there was at one time a twelfth century MS. of Manilius, the Brussels codex, 10699 Cusanus, (C), which represents the distinctively Belgian tradition. It is, I think, quite probable that, through the connection of Purbach and Cardinal Nicolaus of Cusa, the Cusanus, or a copy of it, passed for a while into the hands of Regiomontanus and the Hungarian school: and either at Ofen or Gran, conjoined with some copy of M, gave birth to the whole of the 'mixed' family of MSS. Cusanus was certainly a MS. that travelled, for the Venetian MS. Marcianus xii. 69 is a direct copy of it made in Basle.

¹Or again to the Bodleian and Corpus MSS. to which Parisinus is closely related.

II. MANILIVS AND SYLVESTER II.

Lettres de Gerbert (Havet), 130, pp. 117-118.

'Age ergo et te solo conscio ex tuis sumptibus fac ut mihi scribantur M. Manlius¹ de astrologia, Victorius de rhetorica, Demosthenes ophthalmicus.'

That the M. Manlius of this much discussed letter should ever have been identified with M. Manilius, the author of the *Astronomica*, is rather discreditable to Manilian scholars. For it is possible to adduce, and anyone who has studied the life of Gerbert ought long ago to have adduced, a passage from an author closely related to Gerbert which settles the question once and for all. The author to whom I refer is the chronicler Richer, who was actually a pupil of Gerbert's, and has left an account of that great man's teaching. The passage is *Hist.* iii. 46, ed. Waitz, 1877:

'In primis enim Porphyrii isagogas, id est introductiones, *secundum Victorini rhetoris translationem*, inde easdem *secundum Manlium*, explanavit . . . Inde etiam Topica, id est argumentorum sedes, a Tullio de Graeco in Latinum translata, et a *Manlio* consule sex commentariorum libris dilucidata, suis auditoribus intimavit.'

There is no shadow of doubt that by 'Manlius' here is meant Boetius: and if Richer can so speak of him, why is it so impossible, as Ellis holds,² that Gerbert should do so? Richer is describing Gerbert's lectures, and he says Manlius because he had times out of number in those lectures heard Boetius referred to under that name. Moreover Boetius in this passage is conjoined with precisely that author, the rhetorician Gaius Victorinus, with whom Gerbert in the letter cited above conjoins M. Manlius (for Victorinus there is clearly a blunder for Victorinus: Victorinus stands in the first editions).

This enables me to dispose of one of several absurdities collected together under the name of Manilius in Manitius' *Philologisches aus alten Bibliothekscatalogen*, p. 36. Manitius refers to Manilius the entry in the 14th century Sorbonne Catalogue N. LIII. 9, 'Sex libri commentarii annui Manilii.' A child would have corrected *annui* to *Anicii*. But 'ohne Zweifel ist das Werk des Manilius gemeint' says Manitius: and he goes on to conjecture that Manilius wrote *six* books of *Astronomica*,—though why these should be called 'Commentarii' he does not say. The 'sex commentarii' of Boetius, used as we have seen in Gerbert's lectures, were so much employed in the Middle Ages that these blunders of Manitius are hard to understand. But I remark in the same place two other examples of the same kind of stupidity. The 13th century Canterbury catalogue speaks of a MS. of 'Marcius de Astrologia.' As soon as I saw this entry in Manitius referred to Manilius, I perceived that 'Marcius' was just a blunder for Marciäus=Martianus: and turning to Dr. James' valuable edition of the Catalogue I find that he has already so corrected the blunder.

¹The form 'Manlius' alone has MS. attestation. 'Manilius' comes from the 17th century editions, and was no doubt a deliberate attempt to identify

the 'De Astrologia' with M. Manili *Astronomica*.

²*Noctes Manilianae*, p. 229.

Martianus Capella is of course meant—few mediaeval libraries were without copies of him. For the omission of 'Capella' compare the same catalogue, James, p. 321.¹ For 'De Astrologia,' very commonly used as a designation of book viii., see Eyssenhartd's edition, p. xxviii. Once more, the 11th century Toul Catalogue has an entry B. 68. 210 'cuiusdam de Astronomia cum peryesi Prisciani et Girberto de astrolapsu uol. i.' Manilius admits that cuiusdam may mean Hyginus: but he puts the entry under Manilius and not under Hyginus: and I notice that Thielscher (*Philologus*, 1907, p. 122) thinks that Manilius is meant. Much more likely the reference is to some one of the numberless *anonymous* astronomical works which were to be found in all libraries: see the Canterbury Catalogue again, James, pp. 321-332: and for 'Girberto de astrolapsu' cf. *ibid.* p. 322 'tractatus Geberi (*lege* Gerberti) de motibus caelestibus.' (The forms *Girbertus* and *Gerbertus* are equally well attested.)

The name of Manilius, then, the author of the *Astronomica*, does not occur until the Renaissance. But it appears that 'Manlius' was in the middle ages a not uncommon designation of Boetius. Gerbert employs it once, his pupil Richer twice, the old Paris catalogue once.

III. THE HOLKHAM MS. OF MANILIVS (HOLKHAM 331).

I will call this MS. H. It is a well written 15th century vellum MS. in 'lettera antica.' It consists of 150 (unnumbered) foll., containing 29 lines to each page. (The lemmata are, with one or two exceptions, given in the text.) Foll. 1-55 are occupied by Hyginus, 56-76^r. by Serenus' *Liber Medicinalis*: 76^v. is left blank: 77^r. to the end is filled by Manilius. At the foot of fol. i are the arms of a previous owner: a blue shield surrounded by green laurel: on the right of the shield a gold lion's head, on the left a mound topped by a gold cross (15th century). Under the arms is written in a seventeenth century hand the name of Diego de Colmenares. I take this to be the Spanish historian of that name who died in 1651. The MS., however, would seem to have been written in Italy: and the fact that it is very closely related to M must be dissociated from the fact that both connect with Spain. We have no evidence that M was in Spain before the 18th century. The name of the Count of Miranda, to whom it once belonged, is written—so M. Paz y Melia kindly informs me—in an 18th century hand: and the binding of the volume Mr. Souter holds, I gather, to be Italian of saec. xvii.

Book i of Manilius in H has the titulus: 'M. Manilij Astrono | micon Liber | Primus Incipit' (capitals): and in the tituli to the other books the poet's name is given in the same form. The additional name Boenus or Boetius is nowhere found: nor the blunder 'Milnili.' This is significant owing to the fact that 'Boeni' is found in MRUV, 'Milnili' in MRU, and H is most obviously

¹ Martianus without Capella occurs also in Gerbert, *Epp.* 153, p. 135, Havet.

a brother or cousin of MRUV. That the titulus to book i stood in the Poggian exemplar as it stands in MHRUV is, I think, certain from the fact that in the well-known letter of Poggio to Francesco Barbaro, the MS. reading is 'M. Manilium Astromicon' (*sic*) and *not*, as reported by Mr. Clark and others, 'M. Manilium Astronomicum.' ('Manilium' is obviously a blunder for 'Manilii': the Bodleian MS. which contains this letter is full of similar blunders.)¹ The titulus to M, I may notice in passing, is in a 17th century hand (Mr. F. Madan, to whom I showed a photograph of it, had no doubt of this: and I now find that Loewe—Breiter, *Manilius* i. p. 5—says the same). In the titulus to iv. in H, 'Liber Quintus' has been written for 'Liber Quartus,' and in that to v. the inverse error occurs: in both cases a late hand has rectified the mistake. I mention this in case it should throw light on the cognation of H.

I can find in H only two readings, absent from GLM, which are certainly true. These are 1. 350 *Andromedam*, 4. 17 *orta*. H transposes 4. 666-667, and this transposition, already made conjecturally by Jacob, is perhaps right. H also transposes 4. 641-642, and places 5. 363-4 after 374. It has the following omissions peculiar to itself: 1. 809-810 (Breiter), 813 natalibus—814 rapti, 3. 370, 4. 494, 829-832, 5. 94 terris—96 Iouem. In addition it offers all the lacunae found in M.² It contains a certain number of bad conjectures. Examples are 1. 431 *esurcionem* M: *dubitauit* GL: *extrudere* H: 1. 737 *propius*] *populus* H: 2. 8. *cuiusque* GL: *tunisque* M: *rivusque* H: 2. 22. *adultera*] *et dulcia* H. Of some of its readings it is difficult to say whether they arise from stupidity or mere unscrupulousness, e.g. 2. 41-2 *per quod horrida mater Quia serit dulcis*.

That H is a direct copy of M I am prepared neither to deny nor to affirm. That R and U are copied direct from M seems not unlikely. On the other hand V is certainly *not* so copied: it is copied (though no one seems to have pointed this out) from a MS. containing 26 lines to the page—this appears from 5. 52, 488-503.

I am not, again, concerned to affirm that H is derived from M at all. I am only concerned to note that, save for the three places noticed above, it contains no true readings which are not already found in M. I say this after examining it with care throughout, and having collated it rather minutely for

¹ I take this opportunity of saying that it is a MS. which no editor of the epistolary literature of the Italian Renaissance can afford to neglect. Let me give one convincing proof of this. Poggii, *Epp.* i. 1. Tonellis ends thus in Bodl.: *salutato: simul et Cosmam* (*sic*) *saluere dicito et sibille tritee*. Ex Balneis: *xvi*. Kil *Junijs* (*sic*). Here, apart from minor variants, the allusion to the 'Tritean Sibyl' is quite new, and *Junijs* confirms a conjecture of Tonellis.

At p. 3. 1. 18, ed. Tonell., Bodl. has *Raiserthuos*, pointing clearly to *Kaiserstuhl*.

Another Bodleian MS. of 14th century Italian letters which perhaps deserves attention is Can. Misc. 351. It contains Guarino's letter to Poggio on the relative greatness of Caesar and Scipio—a

letter which has, so far as I know, never been published. Voigt, who mentions it, imagines that it contained considerable abuse of Poggio. As a matter of fact, its tone of studied politeness is its most noteworthy feature. (A fragment of a sentence of it is quoted by H. Blass in his paper on the MSS. of Silius, and repeated from Blass in the *Testimonia* of Schwabe's *Catullus*. But I cannot find that anyone has printed the whole letter.)

² It contains 5. 17, which does not appear in Breiter at all; but from the silence of all editors I infer that this line is found in GLM.

H, it should be added, constantly leaves blank spaces for words which puzzled its scribe. Examples are too numerous to notice.

nearly four books. That it is independent of RUV, and they of it, follows from the omissions peculiar to each. (For the omissions in RUV see Housman, *Classical Quarterly*, i. 4, p. 297.)

There is at Caesena a still unexamined MS. of Manilius (saec. xv.), which belongs, I conjecture, to the same family as HRU. I was first led to examine H by observing that it contained, as do RU, Serenus as well as Manilius. And the same is true of the Caesena MS. That V, which belongs to the MHRU family, does not contain Serenus may be due to the fact that down to ii. 683 it follows the Belgian (GL) recension—as was pointed out by Ellis when he first called attention to M. (Housman assigns the merit of this important observation to Breiter.)

H was sent to the Bodleian Library for my use by the courtesy of Lord Coke, to whom, and to his Librarian, Mr. A. S. Napier, I express my best thanks. My collation, which does not, I think, deserve printing, is at the service of anyone who cares to see it. H perhaps merits being quoted for i. 1–82 (along with RU) but where we have M I do not think its testimony of much value.

H. W. GARROD.

THE BRONZE TRUMPETER AT SPARTA AND THE EARTHQUAKE OF 464 B.C.

AMONG the objects discovered in the excavation of the temple of Athena Chalkioikos at Sparta is a small bronze figure of a trumpeter (illustrated in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xiii p. 146). Mr. Dickins, who says that the figure 'can be dated without hesitation in the middle of the fifth century,' regards 'the presence of a trumpeter as a dedication in Sparta as perplexing, because the Spartans marched to battle to the sound of flutes, and made no use of trumpets for martial music.' This is, I think, the view generally held. The purpose of this paper is to suggest a possible reason for the dedication of the trumpeter at the date, which the style of the work suggests.

While there is ample authority for the martial use of flutes by the Spartans, there is no evidence of any value that flutes were used to give signals. The probabilities are against such a theory, and there is evidence that the Spartans, like the rest of the Greeks, did give signals by the trumpet.

The passages relating to the Spartan use of flutes (some are cited by Mr. Dickins, l.c.; others are to be found in Müller's *Dorians* (English Translation, ii pp. 346-7) require examination.

The earliest reference, which I can trace, is in Thucydides (v 70), who, in his description of the advance before the battle of Mantinea, describes the Lacedaemonians as moving 'slowly to the music of many flute players, that they might march evenly in time (*μετὰ ῥυθμοῦ*) and their ranks might not be broken.' In this passage, which is apparently the source of many later statements, Thucydides refers to the flutes accompanying the march. He does not say that signals were given by the flute, and he uses *σημαίνειν* and *παραγγέλλειν* to describe the orders given by Agis at the moment of engagement. Xenophon *de rep. Lac.* (13. 7, 8) describes the flute players as being at the head of the army, and says that before the battle it was the custom for all the flute players to play their flutes: but he uses *παραγορεύειν* and *παρακελεύειν* of the orders passed along the ranks.

Of later writers some refer definitely to the marching tunes or times (*ἐμβατήριοι ῥυθμοί*) being given by the flute (Plutarch *Lyc.* 21; *Inst. Lac.* p. 238 b: *de musica* p. 1140 e: cf. Pollux iv 78: Polyaeus i 10: Val. Max. ii 6. 2): others in vaguer terms talk of 'marching, starting or making war *πρὸς αὐλόν* or

μετ' αὐλῶν' (Aristotle in Aul. Gell. i 11; Athenaeus xii 517 a; Dio Chrysost. xxxii p. 379; Cic. *Tusc.* ii 16. 37). Lucian *de salt.* 10 in discussing the importance of music associates the flute with time in marching, and adds τὸ πρῶτον σύνθημα Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς τὴν μάχην ὁ αὐλὸς ἐνδίδωσι. It is doubtful whether he meant that the flute was used to give a definite signal; even if he did, his authority is not of much weight.

There are passages in which the use of the flute by the Spartans is contrasted with the use of the trumpet elsewhere. Thus Ephorus (quoted by Polybius iv 20. 6) says that the Cretans and Lacedaemonians introduced the flute in the place of the trumpet, but he also is referring to time in marching. Plutarch, in a passage already cited (*de musica* p. 1140), describes the Lacedaemonians as playing the flute to accompany τὸ Καστόρειον μέλος, when advancing against the foe, just as the Cretans used the lyre, and others (in Plutarch's time) still used trumpets. We may assume that trumpets were sometimes used as an accompaniment to the march (as perhaps in Thuc. vi 69), and there is nothing in these passages to imply that the flute was intended to give signals, any more than the lyre of the Cretans. Either instrument would be unsuitable for the purpose.

There is, however, one definite statement that the flute was used to give signals. This is in Aulus Gellius (i 11), but as he attributes this statement to Thucydides, from whom he quotes the passages relating to the battle of Mantinea, it is obvious that he has made a gross blunder and his evidence is worthless.

I proceed to consider how signals were given by the Spartans. Thucydides in his account of the same battle describes the elaborate gradation of officers, by whom the commands were passed along the ranks (παραγγέλλειν v 66: cf. Xen. *de rep. Lac.* 11). While this method might be perfectly suitable for a change of tactical arrangement, it might not be easy in this way to give an immediate signal to the whole of an army, or to a division at some distance from the general.

The regular method of signalling in Greek warfare was by the trumpet (σαλπίζειν, σημαίνειν τῇ σάλπιγγι; in some cases at least, σημαίνειν used absolutely has the same meaning). Pollux (iv 86) gives four different trumpet signals and Xenophon's *Anabasis* shows a frequent use of the trumpet for conveying a variety of signals. We should, unless there were positive evidence against such a theory, assume that the Spartans would not deny themselves the use of the customary signal, especially as their armies often included a large proportion of allies, who would presumably be accustomed to the trumpet.

It is possible that σημαίνειν, which often implies signal by trumpet, may bear this meaning in some cases, where it is used of the Lacedaemonians, but there are two pieces of positive evidence for the Lacedaemonian use of the trumpet. In Xenophon (*Hell.* v 1. 9) the Lacedaemonian admiral orders a night attack at sea by the trumpet, and Plutarch (*Cimon* 16: cf. Polyaeus i 41. 3)

relates how, on an occasion to be further discussed, Archidamus ordered the trumpet to sound the alarm *ὡς πολεμίων ἐπιόντων*.

On the examination of the evidence I think the conclusion is justified that the Spartans did not give signals by the flute, and that there is no reason why, on occasion, they should not have used the same signal as the other Greeks, while there are two instances in which their use of the trumpet is recorded. We need not therefore regard the dedication of a trumpeter as perplexing.

I venture further to suggest an occasion and a reason for the dedication of the actual figure, which, as we have seen, is attributed to the middle of the fifth century. In the passage just cited from the life of Cimon, Plutarch is describing the confusion caused by the earthquake at Sparta in 464 B.C.¹

He says 'Archidamus quickly perceived the danger threatened, and, seeing that the citizens were trying to save their valuables from their houses, he gave orders for the trumpet to signal the attack of the enemy, that the Spartans might rally to his side under arms. And this was the very thing, which, at that crisis, alone saved Sparta. For the Helots had run together in all directions from the country, thinking to make a prey of those Spartans who had escaped. But finding them under arms, in ordered ranks, they retreated to the towns and openly made war.'

If, then, Sparta was delivered from her enemies and the Spartan warriors escaped destruction by the timely act of Archidamus, in which a trumpeter gave the signal; if within a few years a bronze trumpeter was dedicated at the temple of Athena, the guardian of the city, it is a possible, if not a probable, conclusion that the dedication was itself a commemoration of this event, and that the bronze figure represents the pious offering of Archidamus.

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¹The effects of the earthquake (which is briefly discussed by Thucydides) are described by Plutarch (l.c.), Diodorus xi 63, Pausanias iv 24. 6. Although probably exaggerated by these writers the losses must have been very serious. Diodorus, no doubt following Ephorus who had a taste for large figures, talks of

more than 20,000 Lacedaemonians being killed. Plutarch and others say that all but five houses in the city were overthrown. The overthrow of buildings may explain the destruction of some of the earlier temples at Sparta.

SINCERVS AND LVCRETIVS III 717.

Semina praeterea linquuntur, necne, animai
corpore in exanimo? quod si lincuntur et insunt,
haut erit ut merito immortalis possit haberi, 715
partibus amissis quoniam libata recessit;
sin ita sinceris membris ablata profugit
ut nullas partis in corpore liquerit ex se,
unde cadauera rancenti iam uiscere uermes
expirant, atque unde animantum copia tanta 720
exos et exanguis tumidos perfluctuat* artus?

* Or *per fluctuat*.

When a man has breathed his last, do particles of the soul remain in the body or do they not? If they do, the soul, thus impaired by loss, cannot fairly be deemed immortal; if they do not, whence come the living creatures which are bred in carcasses?

How Lambinus understood the words of 717 is perhaps not quite clear from his paraphrase 'si anima e corpore ita sincera et integra excessit ut nullam sui partem in eo reliquerit'; but Fayus renders *sinceris membris* by 'cum integris partibus suis,' Wakefield similarly says 'per *membris* utique intelligere debemus partes animae, non corporis; . . . *sinceris* scilicet est *indelibatis*,' Munro in his first edition followed them and translated 'if when taken away it has fled forth with its members so entire that it has left in the body no parts of itself,' and Giussani again has 'con tutte le sue membra' and explains that *sinceris membris* 'è il contrapposto di *partibus amissis* 716.' To this interpretation Mr Heinze justly objects that Lucretius nowhere else endows the soul with *membra*, and that *membris* and *ablata* should naturally bear the same relation to one another here as in 439 'animam . . . dissolui . . . cum semel ex hominis membris ablata recessit.' There is a further objection, much more decisive, which he does not see; but of that anon.

Munro in his later editions adopted the suggestion of Paley, that *sinceris membris* meant 'from the yet untainted body' in contrast to the *rancenti iam uiscere* of 719. The epithet is capable of that meaning, but this detail, as Mr Heinze remarks, is nothing to the purpose: it goes without saying that the body is not putrid at the moment of death, and to mention that circumstance in the midst of the present argument is not only superfluous but distracting.

The conjecture '*sincera ex membris*,' first proposed by Tanaquillus Faber and then again by Bentley in his young days, is accepted by Mr Heinze, who says that *sincera* means the same as the *incolumis* of 608 'ire foras animam incolumem de corpore toto' and 696 'exire . . . incolumes posse et saluas exsoluere sese | omnibus e neruis atque ossibus articulisque': '*sincera* steht im Gegensatz zu *libata* (716), wie *ita ut nullas partis liquerit* zu *partibus amissis*.'

If the Latin words *sincera profugit* really possessed the meaning thus assigned to them, 'has fled away whole and undiminished,' all would now be well. But they do not: they possess a very different and quite inappropriate meaning. *sincerus* never signifies *incolumis*, *illibatus*, ὁλόκληρος: it signifies *merus*, *purus*, εἰλικρινής. A thing is *incolume* or *illibatum* when none of its own substance has been taken away from it: it is *sincerum* when no foreign substance has been added to it. The true sense of *sincera profugit* is therefore 'sic profugit ut nullas corporis partis secum abstulerit'; and what could be less relevant than that? The same consideration is fatal also to the rendering of Wakefield and Giussani: *sinceris membris* cannot mean *indelibatis* and cannot be 'il contrapposto di *partibus amissis*.'

The proper meaning of *sincerus* is so well known and so indisputable that it seems hard to explain how so many scholars should have made this mistake. But it has a double cause in the existence of the Latin adjective *integer* (which both Fayus and Lambinus employ in their paraphrases) and the propensity of mankind to the fallacy of the undistributed middle. '*sincerus* means *integer*, *incolumis* means *integer*, therefore *sincerus* means *incolumis*': so runs the syllogism. The truth is that the vaguer *integer*, 'whole,' 'uninjured,' embraces the meanings of the more precise *sincerus*, 'not injured by addition,' and *incolumis*, 'not injured by subtraction,' and can be used instead of either. Moreover the proper and primary senses of *sincerus* and *incolumis* often recede into the background, and their common and secondary sense, 'uninjured,' becomes predominant; so much so, that occasions arise when it matters little which word is chosen. When Ovid in *met.* xii 99 sq. says of the invulnerable Cynus struck by the spear of Achilles '*sine uulnere corpus | sincerumque fuit*,' he might just as well have said *incolume*: both words mean 'scatheless'; the only difference is that *incolume* has rather the sense of *indestructum* (u. 92), and *sincerum* the sense of *imperfossus inque cruentatum* (uu. 491 sq.). So also in a passage which Mr Heinze quotes as parallel, *Lucr.* iii 531 sq. '*scinditur . . . animae . . . quoniam natura nec uno | tempore sincera existit, mortalis habenda est*,' *incolumis* might be substituted: the meaning is *integra* (Giussani) or 'entire' (Munro) as opposed to *dilaniata* (u. 539) or 'piecemeal.' But if the meaning were *integra* or 'entire' as opposed to *mutila* or 'incomplete,' then *incolumis* must have been used and *sincera* could not. Their proper and primary senses the two words never exchange; *incolumis* never means *purus* and *sincerus* never means *illibatus*.

By this time it must be clear that the sense which Faber wished to obtain

was present all the while in the MS reading, and that his conjecture, instead of introducing it, expelled it. What he meant was '*illibata* profugit,' and that is what *sinceris membris* actually signifies. If the soul, when it quits the body, is *illibata*, i.e. carries all its particles with it, then the body, when quitted by the soul, is *sincerum*, rid of all foreign admixture. *sinceris membris* means *membris iam mere corporeis*, and the words 'ut nullas partis in corpore liquerit ex se' repeat and reinforce this notion with the same pleonasm which is seen in 716 'partibus amissis . . . libata' or i 343 'motu priuata carerent' or ii 541 sq. 'quamlibet esto | unica res quaedam . . . sola | cui similis toto terrarum nulla sit orbi.'

A. E. HOUSMAN.

ON THE TEXT OF JUVENAL I. 115.¹

AMONGST the readings of the Parisian codex collated by Mr. Stuart (supra pp. 1-7) which he classes as interpolations is one whose singularity at once arrests attention. In the well-known passage, I. 113 sqq., where all known MSS. including P have

etsi, funesta Pecunia, templo
nondum habitas, nullas nummorum ereximus aras,
ut colitur Pax *atque* Fides Victoria Virtus
quaeque salutato crepitat Concordia nido,

II presents *firma* instead of *atque*.

The reasoning which has induced Mr. Stuart, and no doubt will induce others after him, to regard *firma* as interpolated, may without unfairness be set out as follows. *atque* gives a perfectly satisfactory sense, and is attested by the all but universal consent of our MSS. *firma*, whether it be taken with *Pax* or with *Fides*, is open to grave objection; it is supported by but a single witness, and it cannot have come from *atque*, as an honest error should have come, by the route of mere clerical mistake. Such is the strong argument of the prosecuting counsel; but the advocate of the defendant must be allowed his turn, and he will point out, on the one hand, firstly, that an actually complete unanimity on the part of the MSS. of Juvenal by no means proves (as even the most conservative critics admit) that the lection which they support is genuine, and secondly, that though *we* may find it perfectly satisfactory, it does not follow that Juvenal would have done the same, nor that it is not one amongst two or more alternative expressions between which our knowledge does not allow us to discriminate.² On the other hand, he will require from the prosecution that it should complete its argument by suggesting a reasonable motive for the 'interpolation,' since interpolation without motive is not interpolation at all.

This last plea must be carefully examined. We will take the supposition that *Pax atque Fides* is the genuine tradition of Juvenal, and *firma* an intruder. How did it find its way in? It may be laid down that interpolation never arises unless some scribe or corrector has found the text unsatisfactory. What

¹ Read before the *Cambridge Philological Society* on October 22, 1908.

² Compare Housman on vii 139 sq. 'fidimus eloquio' PG, 'ut redeant veteres' Ψ. "We cannot

be sure which Juvenal wrote; we cannot even be sure that he wrote either," *Iuvenalis Saturae Pref.* p. xxv.

ground for dissatisfaction is there in 'Pax atque Fides'? Ask any one out of the throng of editors and critics who have edited or commented on this line without misgiving, what medieval scribe or corrector would have found this *atque* unsatisfying? The supporters of a theory of interpolation must now retire on their second line and say that in some MS., from which II is derived, the word *atque* had been omitted or was illegible. This is of course assumption—the postulation of a fact to support a theory. If justified at all, the result must justify it. Can it? Let us see. A scribe or reader observed a trochee missing between two nouns *pax* and *fides*. How, think we, was he likely to have filled the gap? By a *firma*, got we do not know whence, or by a harmless, if not necessary, 'and'—an *atque* which he had had twice already in the last 50 lines (65, 67)?¹

At this point the prosecution would doubtless ask to amend the pleadings in order to suggest the possibility that *firma*, though not an 'interpolation proper, was a corruption, now declared to be unconscious, which was hardly distinguishable from such, and that it was due to the phrase *pax firma*, or the phrase *firma fides*, obsessing the copyist's brain and misguiding his hand. That MS. corruption is sometimes due to such unfortunate reminiscences is undoubted, but a cautious criticism does not assume them unless the evidence is clear.

The advocate of *firma* would now claim to apply to *atque* the same tests that had been applied to *firma*. And he would point out that, if '*firma*' stood before '*fides*' in the archetype of the MSS. of Juvenal, the scribe's eye might slip from the first *fi* to the second *fi*, thus producing a gap for which an *atque* was the natural and obvious supplement. Nor would he now repress the doubt whether this vulgate was, after all, so very Juvenalian, seeing that it runs counter to the Satirist's habit of asyndeton in enumeration and is an employment of *atque* to which no exact parallel can be furnished from any of his writings.² If then, as Mr. Stuart maintains, II is no negligible witness for the tradition of Juvenal, the credit of *atque* in our passage no longer stands where it did.

But though *atque* may be deposed, *firma*, it is clear, cannot reign in its stead. Neither as an epithet of *Pax* nor as an epithet of *Fides* is it tolerable, and its sole claim on our attention is that it points immediately to something which may well have come from Juvenal himself. It is, in fact, an easy corruption of *fama*.

Fama, like Ὀσσα and Φήμη, is a goddess in literature; Verg. *Aen.* 4. 173 sqq. (*dea* 195), Ovid, *Pont.* iv 4 (*dea* v. 20). There is evidence, moreover, that she was worshipped in the Roman, as Φήμη (Aeschin. *F.L.* 145 τῇ Φήμῃ θύομεν ὥς θεῶ) and Εὐκλεία (Paus. i 14. 5 ναὸς Εὐκλείας) were in the Greek world. We have

¹ How easily an *and* occurs to a copyist who wants a quick relief for a passage in distress may be seen from more than one place in Tibullus i. 5. 28, 'pro segete spicas,' 'et spicas,' codd. (not knowing that Tibullus lengthens a vowel before *sp*); ii. 5. 95, 'operata,' 'operta' (A, the tradition), 'et operta' the Vatican MS. and probably i. 6. 46 'et

amans' codd. for 'amens,' already corrupted to 'amans.'

² Juvenal's practice may be seen from Sat. iii. 73 sq. 'ingenium uelox, audacia perdita, sermo | promptus et Isaeo torrentior,' 76 sq. 'grammaticus, rhetor, geometres, pictor, aliptes, | augur, schoenobates, medicus, magus, omnia nouit | Graeculus esuriens.'

inscriptions to FAMA (*Orelli* iii 5817) from Cologne and to FAMA AVGVSTA (*C.I.L.* ii 1435) from Spain (Baetica). That she, like *Honor* and the other canonised abstractions with whom Juvenal associates her, had one among the innumerable altars or temples of Rome, I cannot find from direct evidence elsewhere. And it might perhaps be thought that Juvenal's memory had played him false either as to the name of the divinity or as to the place of the worship. But this there is no necessity to assume. A contemporary of Juvenal, the Greek philosopher Plutarch, speaks more than once of a temple Φήμης καὶ Κληδόνος, which has been rightly identified with that of *Aius Locutius* (*Loquentius*), dedicated according to tradition by Camillus (Plutarch *de Fortuna Roman.* 5, *Camillus* 30). This has generally been assumed to be a blunder of Plutarch's; but it seems more reasonable to suppose that he is giving the current interpretation of the nature of an obscure divinity who, according to the tradition, conveyed to Rome the first intelligence of the Gaulish invasion (Livy 5. 32, Cic. *de diu.* i ch. 45, ii ch. 32). If this was the popular view of that divinity's nature in Juvenal's time, is it going too far to say that we might expect Juvenal to adopt it?

J. P. POSTGATE.

¹ For more on these cults see Roscher *Lexicon*, s.u. *Personifikationen* pp. 2135, 2139.

COLASANTI'S *PINNA* AND GROSSI'S *AQVINVM*.

Biblioteca di Geografia Storica. Vol. ii. *Pinna*, by GIOVANNI COLASANTI; vol. iii. *Aquinum*, by ELISEO GROSSI. Loescher: Rome, 1907. 8vo. 2 vols. Pp. (viii), 125; (vi), 210. 1 plan; 2 maps and 7 illustrations in text. Price 5 lire; 8 lire.

THE first volume of the series of the 'library of historical geography, published under the direction of Professor Beloch,' that of Sig. Colasanti on Fregellae, has already been noticed in the *Classical Review*, 1907, 207. Two more have now appeared, and several others are announced.

The two works before us differ greatly in interest. In regard to the first it might easily be objected that there are other towns of far greater importance waiting their turn. Previous works on the subject are few, and the material is indeed scanty.

After an introductory survey of the district (Pinna was situated E. of the Gran Sasso d'Italia, on the hills which descend from the Apennines to the Adriatic, 1437 ft. above sea level), a lengthy discussion as to the determination of the site of Pinna follows, the conclusion of which is, that the itineraries do not help to fix it, that classical writers hardly mention it, and that the similarity of names is the chief (but sufficient) argument for fixing it at the modern Penne. Of ancient remains, however, nothing is visible, and even the city walls are entirely mediaeval. The ancient city seems to have occupied only the site of the mediaeval town, and not the extension to the north, crowned by the castle—still less the hill on the S. as local writers have pretended—though even this can only be determined by a study of the mediaeval topography, inasmuch as the discoveries, if carefully sifted, amount to a single tomb of the Roman period found outside one of the gates in 1829, no finds from the town being recorded in the *Notizie degli Scavi*.

Of the history of Pinna, which we finally reach on p. 91, a little more is known. At first, however, it is not distinct from that of the Vestini, who became allies of Rome in 301 B.C., and remained faithful during the Hannibalic wars. In the Social wars Pinna is for the first time mentioned: it remained faithful to Rome while the rest of the Vestini rebelled, and stood a severe siege from the allies. After this, at latest, it received its municipal organization. We hear almost nothing of it afterwards, except for Vitruvius' mention of a nitrous spring called the *aqua Ventina*, as we learn from an inscription.

As a whole, Signor Colasanti's work is careful, but longer perhaps (as we saw in the case of his former work on Fregellae) than the importance of the subject warrants.

The second of these two works—that of Sig. Grossi on Aquinum—forms a contrast. Aquinum was a place of considerable importance in ancient times, its population, in the first century of the empire, being, according to Beloch's calculations, about 20,000 to 25,000, or equal to that of Bologna, Naples, and Catania, and so, relatively, high. The first section (pp. 1-94) deals with its topography. It was situated on the Via Latina, which traversed it from end to end, in the broad valley of the Liris. Its site is now deserted, the mediaeval (and modern) town being situated a little further to the E. The Melpis (now Melfa), a tributary of the Liris, flowed, according to Strabo, past Aquinum, which it does not now do and appears not to have done even at the time of the compilation of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*; but Sig. Grossi states that he has recognized traces of its former course (p. 19 *sqq.*). In regard to the question of the course of the Via Latina between Fregellae and Aquinum, Sig. Grossi agrees with me in maintaining against Sig. Colasanti that the Via Latina crossed the two bridges of La Civita before 125 B.C. (p. 35).

Coming to the topography of the city itself, we find it to have occupied a roughly rectangular site, measuring some 1000 by 850 yards, surrounded by walls of blocks of hard limestone, in some places polygonal, in others roughly rectangular (while the gate on the E.—Porta S. Lorenzo—is of more carefully built *opus quadratum*). The date given to the earliest fortifications—5th cent. B.C. (p. 47)—may or may not be correct.¹ On three sides—on the fourth it was not necessary—an external ditch may be traced, measuring 170 feet wide by 16 (?) deep in the best preserved portion, where it is cut through the rock (p. 65). The measurements seem high, but in the case of Alba Fucens the width of the fosse was nearly double, and the depth about 50 ft. Within the walls remains of several public buildings exist. It is probable that the temple traditionally attributed to Ceres is really that of the three Capitoline deities, inasmuch as it has three *cellae*, while the apsidal building known as the temple of Diana was probably a basilica (p. 85). The remains of both these are in *opus quadratum*, and rise to some height above ground. The theatre and amphitheatre, both in *opus reticulatum*, are less well preserved: while outside the walls is a single arch of travertine with Ionic columns, which Sig. Grossi (surely wrongly) attributes to a nymphaeum. A number of Roman tombs were found outside the city on the W. in 1859.

The territory of Aquinum (pp. 95-130) is not easy to fix accurately, and mediaeval evidence has to be largely used. It is probably correct (p. 101 *sqq.*) to attribute to Aquinum Cicero's letter (*Ad Fam.* xiii. 76) to the *quattuorviri* of an unnamed town in relation to some land bought from them by a friend of his in the former territory of Fregellae, and it is also not impossible that the

¹ The illustrations of these walls (fig. 1, p. 49, the W. side of the city) are decidedly inadequate. shows Porta S. Lorenzo; fig. 2, p. 56, a tower on

Saltus Galliani, qui cognominantur Aquinates of Pliny (*H.N.* iii. 115) were so called because they belonged to Aquinum; for we know that Arpinum had considerable property in Gaul (p. 105).

The last section of the book (pp. 131-210) deals at considerable length with the history of Aquinum. It is generally supposed to have been of Volscian origin. It is not mentioned in the earlier history of Rome, but it issued copper coins, probably between 268 and 217 B.C. But its importance came with the destruction of Fregellae in 125 B.C., which left it the most important city between Rome and Capua except Teanum. Cicero speaks of it as a *frequens municipium*, but it became a colony either under the Triumviri or Augustus. Its prosperity was due to agriculture, and it also had not unimportant purple dyeworks. The chapters on constitution and cults rest on a careful study of the inscriptions. The book closes with the mediaeval history of Aquinum down to its destruction in 1252 by Conrad IV., and with short notes on the most famous natives of the town—Juvenal, Pescennius Niger(?) and S. Thomas Aquinas.

The illustrations are not altogether adequate: the ancient roads should certainly have been marked upon the map of the district (No. ii.), and the photographs in the text are none too well reproduced. For the price of the book, one might expect something a little better, and the remains of Aquinum certainly deserve it. There are a number of misprints, but they do not as a rule affect the intelligibility of the text.

On the whole, however, it is a creditable piece of work; and the series as a whole will be distinctly useful. That the works it includes err, if anything, on the side of prolixity is not altogether to be deplored, especially as it may be hoped that they will inculcate in the inhabitants of the individual cities (who only acquire the volume that affects themselves) respect and love for the remains of antiquity.

THOMAS ASHBY.

WROTH'S *BYZANTINE COINS*.

Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum. By WARWICK WROTH, Assistant-Keeper of the Coins and Medals. London: printed by order of the Trustees. 1908. 2 Vols., cxii+687 (pagination continuous). 79 plates. Price £2 15s.

THESE two splendid volumes contain not only an illustrated catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the British Museum, but also a historical and numismatic summary, in which difficult and doubtful points are discussed at length; and, as in a few cases coins in other collections are described, the work practically amounts to a hand-book of Byzantine coins, and must in great measure supersede the great work of Sabatier, which naturally does not satisfy the needs of the present day. As there is no distinction between the coinage of Eastern and Western emperors, Mr. Wroth begins not with Arcadius, as Sabatier did, but with Anastasius I., the first emperor who never had a Western colleague. A full catalogue of the western barbaric imitations and of the coinage of the empires of Nicaea, Thessalonica, and Trebizond is reserved for another volume; and at least in the case of the emperors of Nicaea, the direct predecessors of the Palaeologi, the omission is unfortunate, since it leaves a gap of 57 years in the history of the coinage. An interesting part of the introduction is the discussion of the portraiture, in which Mr. Wroth arrives at the conclusion that only in a few cases, and then only to a limited extent, do the coins preserve a likeness.

Among the points on which the author throws new light I may mention the puzzling question of the Constantine and the bearded Michael who appear on the coins of Theophilus. As the beard ascribed to Constantine is now said to be only a mistake of Sabatier, there can no longer be any doubt that he was the emperor's son; on the other hand, since, except on a few coins of Heraclius and Constantine (39-45), junior colleagues are always beardless, Michael can hardly have been a son, and Mr. Wroth supposes him to be Michael II., placed on the coins by Theophilus in imitation of the practice of his Isaurian predecessors. He has not however noticed the difference that in the earlier coins the dead emperors appear on one side and the living on the other, while in this case Michael appears in conjunction with Constantine, and the two are coupled as 'Michael et Constantinus', a scarcely credible combination of living and dead. If however we suppose the coins to have been issued after Constantine's death, this difficulty vanishes. The African coins ascribed

by Sabatier to Theodosius III. Mr. Wroth assigns to Theodosius, son of Maurice; and that they are of this period numismatic authority is decisive; but the appearance of Theodosius alone upon coins needs explanation.

On a few matters, chiefly of chronology, Mr. Wroth's statements require correction. Thus he says that Tiberius II. became Augustus and sole ruler in Sept. 578, whereas from 26 Sept. to 5 Oct. he was the colleague of Justin. Of more consequence is it that, while he says that the birth of Heraclonas is placed by Bury in 615, by Pernice in 626, he accepts the earlier date, which is certainly wrong. Heraclonas was born in Persia (Niceph. p. 15), and the son born in 615 was a second Constantine, who was made Caesar, and died in 629 (id. p. 22). The third figure on the dated coins 420-423 cannot therefore be Heraclonas, but, if not Martina, must be the Caesar Constantine, as is in fact assumed in the Thomsen Catalogue to which Mr. Wroth refers. Further, the first year of Constans' residence in Sicily, to which Mr. Wroth assigns the dated coins 371-375, was not 662, but 664 (ind. 7); and ind. 11 (coins 354-357), as the indictional year began on 1 Sept., is 653 rather than 652. Again, the brothers of Constantine IV., whom Mr. Wroth calls Caesars, were certainly Augusti. Theophanes indeed says that they were not crowned, but he afterwards (A.M. 6173) implies the contrary; and that this is correct is proved by the acts of the 6th Synod, in which they are not distinguished from their brother by the title 'Caesar' and the years are reckoned by their βασιλεία. Lastly, by assuming (I do not know on what ground) that Justinian II. was associated in the empire in 680, though he notes that he never appears with his father on the coins, he has introduced confusion into the chronology of that emperor's coinage. For the incorrectness of the date it is only necessary to refer to the last *Actio* of the 6th Synod, held 16 Sept., 681. Theophanes places the association in 681/2; but from the official dating of Justinian's years it is certain that it did not take place before Feb. 685 (Mansi xi. 738), and, if we may trust the epitaph of Ceadwalla (Bede *H.E.* v. 8), it was not before April. His 25th year therefore is not 705, but 709/10, and there is no reason to doubt the dating of coins of the 1st and 2nd years (p. 335), or of the 20th year (p. 355). Certainly Tiberius can hardly have been crowned before the expiration of the 20th year, but from the frequency of such round numbers one may suspect that they are not always exact. In the reigns of Leo III. and Constantine V. Mr. Wroth, rightly, as I believe, follows the old chronology in preference to that adopted by Professor Bury and M. Lombard, but inconsistently places the battle of Acroinus in 739 instead of 740.

In the section devoted to the inscriptions it might have been added that Constantine Ducas is the first to place his surname on the coins as part of his official style.¹

The extraordinary 'Excubiti' (p. xx, l. 5) must surely be a misprint.

E. W. BROOKS.

¹ It is found on some of the coins of Constantine Monomachus (16-18), but not as part of his title.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. 21. 3. 1908.

J. Geffcken, *Kaiser Julianus und die Streitschriften seiner Gegner*. Summary and criticism of the Emperor's work against the Galileans (chief importance that it preserves much of the older polemic), and the replies of Ephraim the Syrian, Gregory Nazianzen, John Chrysostom and Cyrill. The latter described as full of fanaticism, without genuine, glowing passion. G. Finsler, *Homer in der italienischen Renaissance*. Latin translations; Basini's *Hesperis*; Politian's tribute to the poet in his *Ambra*, Ariosto and Vida's *Christias*. Influence of Aristotle's *Poetics*. Trissino's *L'Italia liberata da' Gotti*: he attacks Ariosto, who is defended by Cinthio, for neglecting Aristotle's rules. Beni in comparing Homer, Vergil, Tasso gives the palm to the latter, as following those rules most closely. Tassoni's attack on Homer. E. Ermatinger, *Das Romantische bei Wieland*. [22. 3 F. Schemmel, *Die Hochschule von Konstantinopel im 4. Jahrhundert p. Ch. n.*]

21. 4. 1908.

E. Kornemann, *Stadtstaat und Flächenstaat des Altertums in ihren Wechselbeziehungen*. Asia and Egypt are the regions where the *Flächenstaat* begins, Europe is the chief field of the city state. Sparta was never a pure city state, and to Spartans *πόλις* means a community of Perioeci. The reforms of Clisthenes changed Athens from a city state into a *Flächenstaat*. In the peace of Antalcidas the *Flächenstaat* triumphed and the Greek system of city states was condemned thereby to political barrenness. At Pergamum the mixture of the two kinds of city produced a constitutional monarchy not unlike that of Augustus. Rome's development was not dissimilar, but in the period when the republic became a monarchy the city state became definitely a *Flächenstaat*. E. Bruhn, *Q. Ciceros Handbüchlein für Wahlbewerber*. A genuine work. The fact that in § 5 Q. speaks frankly of matters which it would be Cicero's policy to obscure does not prove that the work was not intended for publication: Q. was notoriously tactless (see Cicero's second letter to him, § 6). It is however probable that it was not published, as our text shews signs of having come from Q.'s own rough copy, and that Cicero introduced the echoes in the *In toga candida* as a compliment to his brother. E. Ermatinger, *Das Romantische bei Wieland*. *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: A. Gudeman's *Grundriss der Geschichte der klass. Philologie* and Kroll's *Geschichte der klass. Philologie* favourably noticed by O. Immisch.

21. 5. 1908.

C. Schuchhardt, *Hof, Burg und Stadt bei Germanen und Griechen*. Traces in Germany of a developement from a citadel of refuge, with a prince's palace at its foot, to a citadel inhabited by a prince with an unwall'd city growing up around it. In Greece we find in the Mycenaean period and Homer clear evidence of the second stage:

πόλις meant originally the citadel, ἄστυ the settlement about it. But it is also possible to trace the earlier stage, of royal palaces that do not stand on a citadel and of refuge-citadels. Consideration of Olympia, Athens, Rome and Pergamum from this point of view. H. Jordan, *Die Dramatisierung von Aischylos' Tragödie*. Aeschylus' early plays lack the concentration around a single point so essential for drama. In the *Seven against Thebes* the tragic hero and the tragic moment appear. In the *Prometheus* comes dramatic action; the different scenes are held together by the will of an individual, but Prometheus is too stiff and inflexible: if tragedy was to become drama, intellectual forces must come into action so that there might really be action on one person by another and real scope for two or more adversaries. The *Suppliants* realises this requirement, but it lacks the element of horror and loses in tragic what it gains in dramatic interest. Perfection of the *Agamemnon*. W. Soltau, *Humanität und Christentum in ihren Beziehungen zur Sklaverei*. Theory of ancient philosophy and religious views in the first century after Christ. The Practice. P. Simon, *Schillers Nanie*. F. Marx, *Franz Buecheler*. Obituary (with portrait). *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: R. Reitzenstein, *Zu Horaz. Odes 3. 14* (esp. *o plebs*) illustrated from a papyrus passage announcing the accession of Hadrian; *Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1904-1905*, summarised by H. Lamer. [22. 5. 1908. E. Borst, *Humanistische und realistische Bildung in England*.]

21. 6. 1908.

G. Thiele, *Die vorliterarische Fabel der Griechen*. The ancient beast-tales, beast-jests and beast-dialogues much older than the time when they received literary treatment (Esop). The Greeks, with their love for dialogue, much affect that form of beast-jest: the 'cockney' Phaedrus ruins much of the point. Another popular form is the 'epilogic' proverb. The 'Libyan' fables were probably originally fables about lions, the term afterwards embracing all beast-fables. The word αἶνος is applied to a fable from the point of view of its moral or satiric tendency. P. Corssen, *Donarem pateras*. Rejects both Beck's and Elter's defence of *Odes 4. 8*. The objections to ll. 15-19 shewn to be convincing. The 'interpolation' is, however, quite early—indeed Horace may have written the poem in two forms and our text be due to some clumsy combination of them. E. Wilisch, *Zehn Jahre amerikanischer Ausgrabung in Korinth*. Summary of results, with a map: continuous developement of vases (prae-Mycenaean, geometric, proto-Corinthian, old Corinthian, but no Mycenaean kind), clay figures mostly ancient, works of sculpture mostly belong to Roman Corinth. Inscriptions of Greek Corinth very scanty, thanks to Mummius. The well-houses of Pirene and Glaucē, with another in the market which belongs in the main to the fifth century, and other buildings (theatre, porticoes, etc.). The discovery of Pirene the key to Corinth's topography.

21. 7. 1908.

E. König, *Babyloniens Einfluss auf die Kulturgeschichte*. In such things as numeration, mensuration, music, painting, legislation, B.'s influence important, but by no means unlimited. In the conception of history and historical composition others (esp. Jews and Greeks) have done much more for civilisation. R. Helm, *Zwei Probleme des Taciteischen Dialogus*. Composed after the *Agricola* in 98. Cicero was the natural model for a dialogue, as Seneca probably was for *Germania* and Sallust was for *Agricola*: hence the style. As for the *syncrisis* at the beginning of the book, apparently entirely alien from its theme, it reads like a *protrepticus* and is probably largely due to a similar section of the Ciceronian Hortensius. It is of course *apo-treptic* in Tac., who speaks in it his farewell to oratory. E. Schwyzer, *Neugriechische Syntax und altgriechische*. Attributes neglect of κοινή syntax to lack of a new and middle Greek

syntax. Brief account of some syntactic features of modern (popular) Greek, with special reference to ancient Greek. *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: J. J., *Menander in Lauchstedt*, describes a performance of *Epitrepontes* and *Samia*.

21. 8.

W. Kroll, *Die Originalität Vergils*. V. combined the magnitude of a cyclic poem with the spirit (romance etc.) of Alexandrian epic; above all, his rhetoric is his own, and the speeches are really independent creations. Traces of the rhetorical schools in the Aeneid (enthymema, points, gnomes, passionate appeals, pathetic asyndeta, parataxis for hypotaxis etc.). In excursus denies Vergil's authorship of Cat. 9 (11). R. Stübe, *Tschinghiz-chan*. R. Petsch, *Gerhart Hauptmann und die Tragödie des xix Jahrhunderts*. *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: S. Reiter, *Ein Doppelbrief von Buecheler und Ritschl an F. Dübner*; Seymour's *Life in the Homeric Age* favourably reviewed by P. Cauer, who however complains that the author adopts no decisive attitude in ref. to the problems involved; Witte's *Singular und Plural* reviewed by Hans Meltzer ('carried out systematically, with rich results, and full of stimulus'); Hirscl's *Themis, Dike und Verwandtes* noticed by W. Kroll; the results of Dalmeyda's *Goethe et le drame antique* summed up by T. Vogel.

[22. 8. K. Bone, *Fort mit der Grammatik aus der Lektüre*.]

Rheinisches Museum. 63. 2. 1908.

W. Crönert, *Corinnae quae supersunt*. Text, with testimonia, of all the fragments (including those in the Berlin papyrus 284). F. Buecheler, *Prosopographica*. C. Cichorius, *Panaitios und die attische Stoikerinschrift*. On a list of ἱεποποιοί for the Ptolemaea, I.G. 2. 953. Σπώριος and Δεύκιος are Sp. Mummius (brother of the notorious Mummius) and L. Metellus (who shared with Scipio Minor and Panaetius in the famous embassy to the East). The archonship of Lysiades, to which the celebration belongs, is probably to be assigned to the year 139, when the embassy seems to have visited Athens on its way home. The numerous 'new citizens' whom Crönert has discovered in the list were probably fugitive professors, etc., from Alexandria. Its Posidonius, Aristarchus and Apollodorus may be respectively the philosopher, the great critic's son, and the chronographer. The order followed in the list is based on the persons' ages. R. Sabbadini, *Bencius Alexandrinus und der Cod. Veronensis des Ausonius*. The MS. from which B. cites from the *Catalogus urbium* and *Ludus sapientium* is probably the original from which the former poem was copied into empty pages of the Cod. Tilianus and from which Petrarch's MS. got the *Ludus*. H. Rabe, *Die Platon-Handschrift Ω*. Bekker's Vat. 796, Ω, is Vat. gr. 1. Marginal variants to Leg. 1 and 5 given as a specimen. K. Ziegler, *Plutarchstudien*. 1. Parisinus 1678 used to shew that the letter which precedes the extant catalogue of P.'s works is a fourteenth century forgery, based on Suidas' Lamprias article. 2. Probable on textual grounds that the three volume recension of the Biographies is the older. C. Thulin, *Eine alifaliskische Vaseninschrift*. H. Kallenberg, *Textkritisches zu Diodor in Anlehnung an die Excerpta Vaticana*. Cases where the excerpts and F share readings preferable to those of the other MSS. O. Seeck, *Das Leben des Dichters Porphyrius*. An African (*Paneg.* 16. 16-22): the Bassus of poem 21 probably the consul of 317. Perhaps banished as one of the authorities who, relying on Licinius' protection, compelled Christians to sacrifice to Pagan gods. P. enables us to put the execution of Crispus in May or June of the year 326. S. Sudhaus, *Die Perikeiromene*. A. Brinkmann, *Johannes des Mildtätigen Leben des heil.*

Tychon. Discussion of Usener's alterations of the text and of passages that require emendation. *Miscellen*: P. Thielscher, *Manil.* 1. 25-29. Defence of the text of cod. Lipsiensis. L. Radermacher, ὡς ὁμοίως und *Verwandtes*. M. P. Nilsson, *Zu Zeὺς Καταβάνης*. F. Bücheler, *Zum Stadtrecht von Bantia*. In *acunum VI nesimum* the first word represents *annum*: for the whole expression cp. Lex Tarentina. M. Ihm, *Civitas Baesarensis. Darenus*. W. Vollgraff, *Das Alter der neolith. Kultur in Kreta*. Evans mistaken in supposing that soil accumulated more slowly in the earlier period: clay huts may be assumed for this (as there are no traces of stone houses) and the level of the soil would rise very rapidly, as e.g. was the case in Egypt ($\frac{1}{2}$ m. per century).

63. 3. 1908.

Edd., *Zu F. Bücheler's Gedächtniss* (portrait); F. Bücheler, *Saturnier des Tuditanus cos. 625/129*. Restoration of the inscription represented by (a) C.I.L. v. 8270, (b) stone discovered by Maionica. F. Solmsen, *Ein dorisches Komödienbruchstück*. Fragment of Philyllion (Pollux 10. 58) to read ἐς τὰς πινακίδος δ' ἀμπερώς ὅτι κα λέγοι | τὰ γράμμαθ', ἐρμάνεε: its Greek points to the Doric of N.E. Peloponnese. A. Roemer, *Zur Kritik und Exegese der Frösche des Aristophanes*. Much use made of scholia. At the end supports Bernays' view of the κάθαρσις (aesthetic, not ethico-didactic). A. v. Mess, *Die Hellenika von Oxyrhynchos*. Theopompus cannot be the author. Whoever he may be, he is an Athenian aristocrat, with a leaning towards Sparta and yet interest in Conon. Aristocratic tendency in Athenian historians not impossible: witness some of the *Atthides* used by Diodorus, and the constitutional history embodied in the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία. Date and attitude to rhetoric (probably there were no speeches) suit Cratippus. E. Bickel, *De epitaphio Senecae*. Language (position of *ilicet*, phrases like *deus euocat, hospita terra, sollemnibus saxis, animam caelo reddimus* etc.) points to late Christian writer as the author. M. Pokrowskij, *Nochmals in- priuatiuum im Lateinischen*. Answer to Hruschka's criticisms of the author's paper, *Rh. M.* 52.427 sqq. H. Rabe, *Euripideum*. Discovery of a leaf of B, containing Rhesus 899-940 with scholia: confirms view as to Pal. 98 having been copied from the MS. before the loss of this leaf. W. Bannier, *Die Beziehungen der älteren attischen Uebergabe- und Rechnungsurkunden zu einander*. L. Radermacher, *Motiv und Persönlichkeit*. Some of Margites' *puerilia* ascribed to Melitides, Amphietes and Coroebus. The first name = 'scion of Melita,' the pet dogs of the island standing for effeminacy. The second name is a Dionysiac surname: cp. μωρότερος εἰ Μορύχου quoted by Zenobius with comment Μόρυχος δὲ Διονύσου ἐπίθετον. His question as to whether it was his father who bore him suits this view. Meaning of the name Margites. R. Engelmann, *Das Mosaikrelief*. Maintains his view that no genuine ones exist: two so-called ones at Naples are plaster casts of the Vatican candelabrum figures, with the surface coloured and made to look like mosaic by a network of white lines. *Miscellen*: A. Elter, *Cantius a Gadibus und Liuius Poenus*. These names in the *Epistola Valerii ad Rufinum* (Migne xi p. 254) come from Mart. 1. 61 (Poenos representing Apona of the epigram). M. Gothein, *Der Titel von Statius' Siluae*. Poems suitable for reading in the shade or walks of the 'silua' or park of the Roman mansion. O. Seeck, *Die Quinquennalfeiern des Licinius*. Held in 323: the law of Constantine referred to on p. 273 was not passed until Nov. 11, 323. F. B., *Zur lat. Seemannssprache*. *Tutarchus* in Hyg. fab. 14 means τοίχαεχος.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1908.

5 June. *Glotta. Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprachen*, herausg. von P. Kretschmer und Fr. Skutsch. I, 1 (R. Meister). *Stromata in honorem C. Morawski* (C. Weyman). Consisting of papers on Greek literature, Latin literature, Latin epigraphy, Classical philology, Classical archaeology, and late-Latin poetry. G. Murray, *The rise of the Greek epic* (Chr. Harder). 'The author has brilliantly performed his task.' G. Norwood, *The riddle of the Bacchae* (W. Nestle), favourable on the whole. H. Elss, *Untersuchungen über den Stil und die Sprache des Venantius Fortunatus* (C. W.), favourable. *Der obergermanisch-raetische Limes des Römerreiches*. Lief. 30 (M. Ihm).

12 June. E. Petersen, *Die Burgtempel der Athenaia* (A. Köster), very favourable. A. Döring, *Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie* (A. Bonhöffer), favourable. R. Knorr, *Die verzierten Terra-Sigillata-Gefässe von Rottweil* (C. Koenen), very favourable. Fr. Kramer, *Afrika in seinen Beziehungen zur antiken Kulturwelt* (J. Ziehen), very favourable. A. S. Pease, *Notes on St. Jerom's tractates on the Psalms* (C. W.). Reprinted from the Journal of Biblical Literature, Vol. 26, Part 2.

19 June. *Pauly's Realencyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, herausg. von G. Wissowa, 11. Halbband (Fr. Harder). *Ephoros-Eutychos*. T. D. Seymour, *Life in the Homeric age* (Chr. Harder), favourable. N. Lundquist, *Studia Lucanea* (Th. Stangl), very favourable. H. Willers, *Neue Untersuchungen über die römische Bronzeindustrie von Capua und von Niedergermanien* (C. Koenen), favourable. G. Mau, *Die Religionsphilosophie Kaiser Julians* (R. Asmus) I.

26 June. Fr. Döring, *De legum Platoniarum compositione* (G. Lehnert), favourable. M. Schamberger, *De P. Papinio Statio verborum novatore* (Th. Stangl), favourable. G. Mau, *Die Religionsphilosophie Kaiser Julians* (R. Asmus) II, very favourable.

3 July. J. W. White, *Enoplic metre in Greek comedy* (H. G.), favourable. T. R. Holmes, *Ancient Britain and the invasions of Julius Caesar* (R. Oehler). 'The work can be warmly recommended both to the learned and to pupils.' *Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti*. Suppl. IV: *Taciti dialogus et Germania, Suetonii de viris illustribus fragmentum. Codex Leidensis Perizonianus*. Praefatus est G. Wissowa (G. Andresen). Fr. Hache, *Quaestiones archaicae*: I. *De Gellio veteris sermonis imitatore*. II. *De Ennii Euhemero* (Th. Stangl), favourable on the whole. Krüger, *Jahresbericht des Provinzialmuseums in Trier*, 1905/1906 (C. Koenen). E. Oekonomides, *Lautlehre des Pontischen* (G. Wartenberg), favourable.

10 July. A. Trendelenburg, *Die Anfangsstrecke der heiligen Strasse in Delphi* (K. Loeschhorn), very favourable. *Aristotle De Anima*, by R. D. Hicks (A. Döring). 'Makes the impression of great care and accuracy.' *The Works of Aristotle*, transl. under the editorship of J. A. Smith. I. *The Parva Naturalia*. II. *De lineis insecabilibus* (A. Döring), favourable. A. Cartault, *A propos du Corpus Tibullianum* (H. Belling). 'A diligent and complete collection of reviews.' *Antibarbarus* von J. Ph. Krebs. 7. Aufl. von J. H. Schmalz (Th. Stangl), very favourable.

17 July. H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 2. Aufl. II, 1. (A. Döring), favourable. A. Hauvette, *Les épigrammes de Callimaque* (L. Weber), very favourable. W. Dittberner, *Issos. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen* (A. Janke), favourable. *Ciceronis in Catilinam orationes IV*, par M. Levaillant (W. Barczat). *Petronii Cena Trimalchionis* mit Übersetzung und Anmerkungen von L. Friedländer. 2. Aufl. (E. Lommatsch), favourable.

24 July. B. Pörtner, *Ägyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus Athen und Konstantinopel* (A. Wiedemann), favourable. K. v. Garnier, *Die Präposition als sinnverstärkendes Präfix im Rigveda* (Helbing), favourable. K. Reik, *Der Optativ bei Polybios und Philo von Alexandria* (Helbing), favourable. J. Wagner, *Die metrischen Hypothesen zu Aristophanes* (K. Loeschhorn), very favourable. *Horatius*, erkl. von A. Kiessling.

III. *Briefe*. 3. Aufl. von R. Heinze (Petri). W. Bruckner, *Über den Barditus* (U. Zernial), favourable. F. Keseling, *De mythographi Vaticani secundi fontibus* (E. Neustadt), very favourable.

7 August. A. Müller, *Das griechische Drama und seine Wirkungen bis zur Gegenwart* (Chr. Muff), favourable. G. Müller, *De Aeschyli supplicum tempore atque indole* (F. Adami), favourable. H. Kewes, *De Xenophontis Anabaseos apud Suidam reliquiis* (W. Gemoll). 'Deserves all praise.' R. Müller, *Quaestionum Xenophontearum capita duo* (W. Gemoll), rather unfavourable. J. Geffcken, *Sokrates und das alte Christentum* (B. v. Hagen), favourable. P. Melcher, *De sermone Epicteteo quibus rebus ab Attica regula discedat* (Helbing), favourable. Seneca, *The tragedies*, transl. by F. J. Miller (W. Gemoll). 'Of value to a person of general education.' G. W. van Bleek, *Quae de hominum pos mortem condicione doceant carmina sepulcralia latina* (M. Manitius), favourable. G. M. Dreves, *Hymnologische Studien zu Venantius Fortunatus und Rabanus Maurus* (J. Dräseke), favourable. F. S. Krauss, *Slavische Volksforschungen* (A. Wiedemann), very favourable.

14 August. T. L. Agar, *Homeric. Emendations and Elucidations of the Odyssey* (P. D. Ch. Hennings) I. R. Helbing, *Grammatik der Septuaginta. Laut- und Wortlehre* (A. Thumb), favourable. A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten. Das Neue Testament und die neu entdeckten Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Welt* (W. Soltau), favourable. *Ausgewählte Schriften des Lucian*, erkl. von J. Sommerbrodt. II. *Nigrinus. Der Hahn. Ikaromenippus*. 2. Aufl. von R. Helm (P. Schulze). 'Excellent for teachers, not for pupils.' K. Münscher, *Die Philostrate* (G. Lehnert), favourable. E. Löfstedt, *Spätlateinische Studien* (Th. Stangl), favourable. Ch. Huelsen, *La pianta di Roma dell' anonimo Einsidlense and La Roma antica di Ciriaco d'Ancona* (J. Ziehen).

28 August. A. D. Keramopulos, *Führer durch Delphi* (A. Trendelenburg), favourable. T. L. Agar, *Homeric. Emendations and Elucidations of the Odyssey* (P. D. Ch. Hennings) II. 'No specialist can study the book without enjoyment.' O. Fredershausen, *De iure Plautino et Terentiano*, Cap. I. (B. Kübler), favourable. *Ciceronis orationes: Divinatio in Caecilium. In C. Verrem*. Rec. W. Peterson (J. Tolkiehn), favourable on the whole. *Suetoni opera*, ex rec. M. Ihm. Vol. I. *De vita Caesarum libri VIII* (Th. Opitz), favourable. R. Cagnat, *Les deux camps de la légion IIIe Auguste à Lambèse* (M. J.), favourable. A. Gudeman, *Grundriss der Geschichte der klassischen Philologie* (J. Ziehen). 'Will perform good service.' W. Kroll, *Geschichte der klassischen Philologie* (J. Ziehen), favourable.

NUMISMATIC.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part 2. 1908.

Sir John Evans. *On some rare or unpublished Roman Gold Coins*. Chiefly Imperial: among them is one of the very rare coins of Balbinus. A sestertius of Antoninus Pius with a variety of the 'Britannia' type is described, p. 194. In the *Proceedings of the Royal Numismatic Society*, printed in this Part, is an obituary notice of Sir John Evans (pp. 25-30), who died May 31, 1908. His work on the *Coins of the Ancient Britons* was published in 1864; an important 'Supplement' (not referred to in this notice) appeared in 1890.

Revue belge de numismatique. Part 3. 1908.

J. N. Svoronos. *Leçons numismatiques*. Translated into French from Svoronos's Greek lectures. This part deals with primitive currencies.

Revue numismatique. Part 1. 1908.

A. de Foville. *Récentes acquisitions du Cabinet des médailles; monnaies grecques d'Italie et de Sicile.* Rare coins of Etruria, etc.—Froehner. *Un nouveau légat de Sicile.* A bronze coin (*rev. Hispanorum*) inscribed on *obv.* L. IVNI. LEG. SIC.—R. Mowat. *Le titre d'Augusta conféré à Maesa, à Soaemias et à Mammée par Septime Sévère, à propos de moules monétaires trouvés en Égypte.*

Part 2. 1908.

E. Babelon. *L'iconographie et ses origines dans les types monétaires grecs.* An interesting article in which the writer discusses the certain or probable instances of portraiture on coins struck chiefly in the fifth and fourth centuries, and before the period of the Diadochi—the time when, according to the common view, coin-portraits are supposed to make their first appearance. Such portraits are especially to be looked for on coins struck under Persian influence—the money (*e.g.*) of the active satraps Pharnabazus and Tiribazus—and in the long series of Persian gold *darics*, in which Babelon detects the portraits, or rather the attempted portraits, of Darius I. and his successors. The coins of Anaxilas tyrant of Rhegium display, as is well known, a mule-car in commemoration of his victory at Olympia, and in some representations of the driver of the car, the portrait of Anaxilas himself is apparently intended. A somewhat analogous case is to be found in the silver staters of Philip II. of Macedon, which have on the reverse a horseman, usually a youthful figure, but in some cases a *bearded* rider, probably Philip himself.—A. Blanchet. *Monnaie avec la représentation de Jehovah.* A brief notice (pp. 276, 277) of this remarkable coin, usually attributed to Gaza, suggested by a recent article by Mr. E. J. Pilcher.

Revue Suisse de numismatique. Vol. xiv. Part 1. 1908.

Pages 1–174 are occupied with the second and concluding portion of Dr. Imhoof-Blumer's article *Zur griechischen und römischen Münzkunde*. A large number of the coins described are from the new collection that the author has been forming, chiefly, I believe, of coins of Asia Minor. These papers are welcome, like all other contributions from Dr. Imhoof-Blumer's pen, for they supply new and valuable material, and, at the same time, correct erroneous or incomplete descriptions of coins previously published. In the present paper the coins of Asia Minor from Lydia onwards are described, also various miscellaneous coins of Europe and some 'uncertain' pieces (with six Plates and Index to the whole series).

WARWICK WROTH.

IN MEMORIAM

JOHN HENRY WRIGHT, Professor of Greek in Harvard University, Associate Editor of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW, 1889–1906, and of THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY, 1907–1908, born February 4, 1852, at Urumyah, Persia, died November 25, 1908, at Cambridge, Mass.

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

APRIL 1909.

ARGOS IN HOMER.

THIS paper is an attempt to elucidate the senses in which this place-name is used in Homer; to assign meanings to the Homeric terms Achaean, Iason and Pelasgic Arge, to 'Argive' as a synonym for Greek, and to establish the nature of the Argos over which Agamemnon ruled. I take the Homeric poems as the unity which they profess to be, and which they must be for historical enquiry. Whatever liberties Homer took with his materials (and I credit him with as free a hand as any one has allowed to Pisistratus) it is plain he was careful to respect events. The effort to distinguish between old and new in the Iliad and Odyssey has caused needless and fruitless encumbrance to the official historians, such as Busolt; the unitarian position has given us the remarkable results of Professor Myres' paper on the Pelasgians, *J.H.S.* 1907, 170 sqq.). The consistency of Mr. Myres' account, and I venture to hope of mine, allows a fresh inference back to the homogeneity of the poems which are their source.

I.

It may be useful in the first place to collect the views of the meaning of ἄργος current in later Greece. Strabo 372, after an enumeration of the various cases of Argos, says ἄργος δὲ καὶ τὸ πεδῖον λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς νεωτέροις, παρ' Ὀμήρῳ δ' οὐδ' ἅπαξ· μάλιστα δ' οἴονται Μακεδονικὸν καὶ Θετταλικὸν εἶναι. The latter remark seems an inference from the Δώτιον and Ὀρεστικὸν ἄργος where there were no towns, and therefore the word must mean a district. It is true that no case of ἄργος as a common noun is found in Homer (unless indeed it is necessary so to take δ 174 sqq., see p. 94), but that the various proper names Ἄργος take their origin from the common noun there is no reason to doubt; every Argos in historical use in Greece is either a valley or a town in one: and there are many parallels, e.g. in Greece Ἐλος, Ἥλις; F

Holland in England and in the Netherlands; Piemonte, and Piano the name of more than one Italian village (e.g. Piano dei Giullari near Florence). Stephanus of Byzantium in *voc.* says ἄργος δὲ σχεδὸν πᾶν πεδῖον κατὰ θάλασσαν; Stephanus' and Strabo's statement is confirmed by one literary text, a line quoted by the same Stephanus in *v. Δώτιον* from a poet Dionysius:¹

καὶ κενεὸν κρότησε [sic] λέβης ἀνὰ Δώτιον ἄργος.

We obtain the equation ἀνὰ Δώτιον ἄργος = Δωτίῳ ἐν πεδίῳ of Hesiod *fr.* 122, 246, *h. Hom.* xvi. 3, and Δώτια τέμπεα of the same Dionysius in his first book (*ib.*). The valley itself was also known as Ἀμυρικὸν πεδῖον from the river which watered it (Polyb. v. 97). It had no connection with the sea, and therefore does not bear out Stephanus' limitation, which however is true of Argolis, the Amphilocheic and the Pelasgic Arge, and may be of the Orestic. The last is with equal probability the delta of the Haliacmon or some open spot higher up its valley.²

These are the cases of the word used as a common noun which can be proved. We must next notice the theory, a doctrine of the antiquaries, that Argos *tout court* meant the Peloponnese, while Argos Iason and Argos Achaicum also meant the Peloponnese and Argos Pelasgicum meant Thessaly. We find this explicitly in Apollodorus (*Bibl.* ii. 3 Ἄργος δὲ λαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐκάλεσεν Ἄργος. *id. ap. Steph. Byz.* in Ἄργουρα. — Ἀπολλόδορος δὲ φησιν ἐν πρώτῳ νεῶν καταλόγῳ Ἀργείους ὀνομάζεσθαι ἢ τῆς προσηγορίας μεταπεσούσης ἢ διὰ τὸ προσκυροῦν τὰ πεδία τῆς Θετταλίας, ἣν δὲ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος εἶπεν Ὅμηρος) and in Strabo (370 ἄλλως τε οὐ τὴν πόλιν λέγει τὸ Ἄργος, οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖσε ἔμελλεν ἀφίξεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. 371 ὅτι δ' Ἄργος τὴν Πελοπόννησον λέγει προσλαβεῖν ἔστι καὶ τάδε Ἄργείῃ δ' Ἑλένη, καὶ, ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρη μυχῶ Ἄργεος, καὶ, μέσον Ἄργος, καὶ, πολλῇσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἀργεῖ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν. Cf. also 363 Ἀχαιοὺς γὰρ τοὺς Φθιώτας φασὶ συγκατελθόντας Πέλοπι εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον οἰκῆσαι τὴν Λακωνικὴν, τοσοῦτον δ' ἄρετῇ διενεγκεῖν ὥστε τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐκ πολλῶν ἡδὴ χρόνων Ἄργος λεγομένην, τότε Ἀχαικὸν Ἄργος λεχθῆναι; and his most general statement 369 καὶ πρῶτον ποσαχῶς λέγεται παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ τὸ Ἄργος καὶ καθ' αὐτὸ καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἐπιθέτου, Ἀχαικὸν Ἄργος καλοῦντος ἢ Ἰασον ἢ ἵππιον ἢ Πελασγικὸν ἢ ἱππόβοτον. καὶ γὰρ ἡ πόλις Ἄργος λέγεται—καὶ ἡ Πελοπόννησος

ἡμετέρῳ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ ἐν Ἀργεῖ

οὐ γὰρ ἡ πόλις γε ἦν οἶκος αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅλη ἡ Ἑλλάς—τὴν δ' οὖν ὁμωνυμίαν τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις διαστέλλεται, τὴν μὲν Θετταλίαν Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος καλῶν

νῦν αὖ τοὺς ὅσσοι τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἔναιον,

τὴν δὲ Πελοπόννησον Ἀχαικὸν.—Ἰασὸν τε Ἄργος τὴν Πελοπόννησον λέγει. 221 καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος Θετταλία λέγεται, τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ

¹ His poem, the *Γιγαντιάς*, is also cited by Stephanus in *Κελαδῶνῃ*, *Νέσσω*, *Ὀρέστῃ*, *Τιτωεύς* and consisted of at least three books. His date is unknown, but he or his predecessors represent Strabo's *νεώτεροι*.

² The *ἀργὸν πεδῖον* under Mt. Alesion in Arcadia (Paus. viii. 7. 1) which resembles in situation the Dotian Argos is no doubt only an apparent coincidence.

Πηγνείου καὶ τῶν Θερμοπυλῶν ἕως τῆς ὀρεινῆς τῆς κατὰ Πίνδον, διὰ τὸ ἐπάρξαι τῶν τόπων τούτων τοὺς Πελασγούς [this clearly is from Ephorus]; 431 τό τε Ἄργος τὸ Πελασγικὸν οἱ μὲν καὶ πόλιν δέχονται Θετταλικὴν περὶ Λάρισσαν ἰδρυμένην ποτὲ νῦν δ' οὐκέτι οὔσαν· οἱ δ' οὐ πόλιν ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν Θετταλῶν πεδίων οὕτως ὀνοματικῶς λεγόμενον, θεμένου τοῦνομα Ἄβαντος ἐξ Ἄργους δεῦρ' ἀποικήσαντος. 371 οἶμαι δ' ὅτι καὶ Πελασγιώτας καὶ Δαναούς, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἀργεῖους, ἡ δόξα τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἀπ' αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας καλεῖσθαι παρεσκεύασεν· οὕτω δὲ καὶ Ἰασίδας καὶ Ἰασον Ἄργος. We see Strabo, according to his honest wont, endeavouring to support the doctrine he has received by the usage of Homer, and making that usage as consistent as may be). The doctrine itself must have been much older; the statement in Apollodorus ii. 3 seems to come from Acusilaus and besides that in Strabo 221 the argument for making Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος a name of Thessaly is taken from Ephorus, who is quoted in the immediate neighbourhood, the name 'Pelasgic' without the word 'argos' in this sense is common among the 5th century logographers: Hellanicus *fr.* 28 has the four divisions of Thessaly, of which Πελασγιώτις is one (Herodotus i. 56 mentions Ἰστυαῖωτις); Hecataeus *fr.* 334 calls Thessaly Πελασγία; Pherecydes *fr.* 26 says Acrisius retreated εἰς τοὺς Πελασγούς εἰς Λάρισσαν, or according to a v.l., εἰς Λάρισσαν τὴν Πελασγικὴν. Acusilaus *fr.* 11 states that Peloponnesus as far as Pharsalia (μέχρι Φαρσαλίας Tzetzes) and Larissa Πελασγία ἐκλήθη.

The interpretations thus placed upon heroic and prae-heroic names are no doubt very ancient; there is nothing to prevent them hailing from early post-Homeric epos. They represent as a whole the efforts of the Dorian peoples to fit themselves into the heroic age. Strabo 431 has given us the detailed claim on which the Pharsalians (unknown to Homer) relied for the possession of Phthia and Hellas (a claim admitted by the Peripatetic antiquarian Dicaearchus, *Geog. min.* p. 109); the Heraclid Argives of Argolis took Agamemnon to their king,¹ with such success that the potentate of Sicyon forbade the recitation of Homer on the ground that the poet exalted his neighbour Argos;² the Megarians, like the Pharsalians, non-existent in Homer, attacked, but in vain, the *Catalogue*. The Ἰωνικὸς ποιητὰς repelled them, and their ill-success suggests that the Sons of Homer in early days could do something to defend their father. They found less resistance in Hesiod; the land poet was more amenable than the Chian, and they are duly seated, equipped with their heroic epithet, among Ajax' possessions in *Pap. Berl.* 10568 v. 5 καὶ Μέγαρά σκίοεντα καὶ ὀφρύνοντα Κόρινθον.

The editors (*Berliner Klassikertexte* v. i. 1907) have hardly appreciated the significance of this portion of Hesiod. When the poet says

Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμείνος ἀμώμητος πολεμιστῆς
μνάτο· δίδου δ' ἄρα ἔδνα εὐκότα, θαυματοῦ ἔργα·

And put three of the Pelopidae into the line of Inachus, e.g. in Tatian's genealogy, *adv. Graecos* c. 39.

² There is no need to assume with Wilamowitz

Hom. Unt. 352 that Clisthenes was jealous of the *Θηβαῖς*, where there was no King of Men and the rôle of Argos was not over-glorious.

οἱ γὰρ ἔχον Τροιζῆνα καὶ ἀγχίαλον Ἐπίδαυρον
 νῆσόν τ' Αἴγειναν Μάσητά τε κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν,
 καὶ Μέγαρα σκίοέντα καὶ ὀφρύνοντα Κόρινθον,
 Ἑρμιόνην Ἀσίνην τε παρέξ ἄλα ναιετάσας,
 τῶν ἔφατ' εἰλίποδάς τε βόας καὶ ἴφια μῆλα
 συνελάσας δώσειν, ἐκέκαστο γὰρ ἔγχεϊ μακρῷ—

he has given the Megarians what they in vain sought from Homer, an heroic existence under the banner of Ajax. To glorify Ajax's state the complaisant Hesiodean enriched him at the expense of his compeers; Troezen, Epidaurus, Aegina, Mases, Hermione and Asine are taken from the kingdom of Argolis; Corinth is filched from the King of Men. At what period in Megarian history claims of this magnitude were made concerns the professionals; in any case it happened before Pisistratus' day. But these variants, where the general motive is so plain, the Berlin editors say 'sind schwerlich beabsichtigte Aenderungen, sondern unserer Ueberlieferung gleichwertig.' It was simple to expect (p. 38) 'in den hesiodischen Katalogen die echte Fassung des homerischen benutzt zu finden.' Rather we now see the origin of the variant νῆσόν τ' Αἴγειναν which Strabo notes 'some' wished to get into B 562, of the version of the whole passage in the *Certamen* 278, and of part of the oracle infra. On the other hand the editors need not postdate their fragment—which they bring down later than Pisistratus. Surely even the Hesiodic well had dried by the end of the sixth century; and what had become of the ambitions of Megara? The legend that the Homeric Catalogue 'assumed its present form' under Pisistratus, or generally that Homer suffered editing at the hands of Pisistratus or the Athenians, dies hard. Mr. Verrall has breathed some life into it in a genial article in the July number of the *Quarterly Review* for 1908, and captive made of Mr. Murray (*Anthropology and the Classics*, p. 68). The arguments for the substantial canonicity of the Iliad and Odyssey as early as about 800 B.C. are briefly these: (1) the existence of the Cycle, which presupposes the Iliad and the Odyssey, of the compass in which we have them, two centuries before Pisistratus. The dates of the Cycle are unimpugned, and rest on evidence which compared to Mr. Verrall's 'record' of the Athenian Reformation is scientific. (2) The appeals made to the *Catalogue* as a title in international matters, first in Pisistratus' own century. Athenians could not have produced a document which they had altered in their own interest. We may add that the intelligence of the sixth century was not so low as to overlook and forgive a forgery. We have the case of Onomacritus. (3) The insignificant part given to Athens in the poems. There are signs indeed of a more local Athenian version, but it did not affect the vulgate. No nation guilty of 'editing' could have produced so poor a result. (4) The ex parte origin of the whole story, Megara (I need not give the references).¹ As Megara ascribed its non-existence in Homer to the machinations of its enemy, so the Sicyonians,

¹ See *C.R.* 1907, 18.

eager like their king to protest against the predominance of Argos, said *Δονόεσσα* the coast-town (outside historical Sicyonian territory) had been altered by Pisistratus to *Γονόεσσα*, a village near the Argive border (*ὑπὲρ Σικυῶνος* Paus.). As Athenian interests were not concerned, the mistake was made *ὑπ' ἀγνοίας* (Paus. vii. 26); the Megarians had imputed *mala fides*.¹ This reward had the Athenians for the religious scruple with which they treated the international poet, that antiquity accused them of tampering with the title of their neighbours, and Mr. Verrall has detected a great scheme of harmonisation within the poems, and of external adaptation and combination of them into a cycle, to suit the curricular regeneration of the Athenian race. The Privatdozent won at Sedan, the New Model at Naseby, and the Wooden Horse in his due place repelled the Persians. The readers of the *Quarterly* should know that the way the orator Lycurgus, our only authority, puts this great movement is that 'the Athenians so esteemed this poet that they ordered his works and his only should be recited every five years at the Panathenaea.' Mr. Verrall would find a better period for his constructions in the age of the great rhapsodes, and a more productive hero in Lycurgus, whose existence has been recently vindicated by Dr. E. Reich. The sutures in the *Iliad* are there, but no Athenian needle worked them.

The mentions of the term *Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος* in independent literature are two²: (1) the oracle (Hendess 178) given in Schol. Theocr. xiv. 48 on the authority of Dinias (*ἐν Ἀργολικοῖς*, *F.H.G.* iii. 25) and by Photius and Suidas in *Ὑμεῖς* on that of Mnaseas of Patara (*Δελφικῶν χρησμῶν συναγωγή* *F.H.G.* iii. 149) and Ion (*ib.* ii. 51). Variants apart it runs

Γαίης μὲν πάσης τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἄμεινον,
 ἄνδρες δ' οἳ πίνουσιν ὕδωρ καλῆς Ἀρεθούσης.
 ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ τῶν εἰσὶν ἁμείνονες οἳ τὸ μεσηγύ
 Τίρυνθος ναίουσι καὶ Ἀρκαδίας πολυμήλου,
 5 Ἄργεῖοι λινοθώρηκες κέντρα πτολέμοιο.
 ὑμεῖς δ' ὦ Μεγαρεῖς οὔτε τρίτοι οὔτε τέταρτοι,
 οὔτε δυωδέκατοι, οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ οὔτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ.

Dinias the Argive antiquarian read *Μεγαρεῖς* in v. 6, whereas Ion and Mnaseas asserted the oracle was given to the inhabitants of Aegium. In Dinias' version it seems to chronicle a case of the same ambition of the Megarians which permitted their antiquarians, Hereas and Dieuchidas, their efforts to get into the heroic age. The oracle is late and its sources rather Hesiodic than Homeric;

¹ The Megarian claim may have had some basis in fact; the later Megara, nameless in Homer, may have been in the heroic age the *περαία* of Salamis, as the Elean coast was of Ithaca. This however does not prejudice the entry in the *Catalogue*: Ajax with his island and his unnamed *περαία* was important personally, unimportant politically, like Odysseus with his archipelago and his *περαία*. Both heroes were rated at twelve ships, the Athenians sent fifty; they were a

maritime power. The moderns wish to see Megara in *Nisa* (B 508): this had not occurred to Hereas and Dieuchidas, and whatever effect the hexameter may have had in spacing places in the *Catalogue*, Anthedon is a very long way from Megara.

² My excuse for this detail is that none of the following passages are given in Smith or in Pauly-Wissowa.

the Pelasgic Argos no doubt is given its antiquarian sense. Still the argos as a proverb for fertility may have started in Malis; the Echinaei according to Polybius ix. 41. 11 καρπούνται γῆν πάμφορον. Zenodotus' reading B 681 is in the same sense. (2) Suidas in v. Ἀργόλαι tells this story: εἶδος ὄφρων, οὓς ἤνεγκε Μακεδῶν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀργους τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, καὶ ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ἀσπίδων, ὅτε μετέθηκε τὰ ὅστ᾽ Ἰερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου ἐξ Αἰγύπτου εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν οὓς ὁ αὐτὸς προφήτης ἀπέκτεινεν. Ἀργόλαι οὖν, ἐκ τοῦ Ἀργους λαιοί. The source of this history is obscure; in another version it is found in the *Chronicon Paschale* c. 156 (Migne, *Patrol.* 92 p. 383) where instead of Πελασγικοῦ we find Πελοποννησιακοῦ. Moschus, *Pratum Spirituale* c. 77 (Migne, vol. 87 pt. 3) has a story of the translation of Jeremy's bones by Alexander, but nothing about serpents or Ἀργος. (I owe these two references to the kindness of the Rev. F. E. Brightman.) The work quoted in the notes to Suidas (*Hierozoicon, sive bipertitum opus de animalibus sacrae scripturae auctore Samuele Bocharto*, Londini 1663 p. 449) sends me to Aristotle, *περὶ θανμασίων ἀκουσμάτων*, who has an Argive locust, (ἐν Ἀργεὶ ἀκρίδας) which fights scorpions, and an ἱερὸς ὄφης in Thessaly which is death to mankind and reptiles alike (844 b 139, 845 b 151). Argos and Thessaly seem to correspond to the Peloponnesian and Pelasgic Argos of the ecclesiastical writers. Or, what is as likely and as immaterial, Suidas' source may have followed Euripides, who *Orestes* 1276 has Πελασγὸν Ἀργος simply in the sense of Argolis.

There is therefore no evidence that the term Πελασγικὸν Ἀργος was a real place-name in historical Greece. It was used by the learned in the sense which tradition gave to Homer's expression B 681.

About the etymology nothing is known. The connection with 'white' disproves itself. Plains near the sea usually and waterlogged valleys always are green.

II.

When we turn from posthomeric doctrine to the usage of the Iliad and Odyssey it will be convenient to deal with the specific cases first and Argos in general afterwards. The specific cases are Ἀχαικόν, Ἰασον and Πελασγικόν. The Achaeans again comes naturally with Agamemnon's Argos.

Ἰασον Ἀργος is mentioned once; σ 245 Eurymachus pays Penelope a compliment;

κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο περίφρον Πηνελοπείη,
εἰ πάντες σε ἴδοιεν ἀν' Ἰασον Ἀργος Ἀχαιοί,
πλέονές κε μνηστῆρες ἐν ὑμετέροισι δόμοισι
ἦῶθεν δαινύατ', ἐπεὶ περίεσσι γυναικῶν.

'We, poor islanders, who have the advantage of knowing you by sight, have sent the contingent of suitors which you see. If the Achaeans in Iason Argos caught sight of you, what a crowd there would be tomorrow!' The ancients

connected Ἰασον with ἰάονες, and so for the most part the moderns (E. Meyer *Forsch.* i. p. 94 and elsewhere, Busolt ed. 2 i. 283 n. 3), but the double difference of quantity, Ἰᾶσον ἰάονες and the presence of sigma are against it. I notice that Kretschmer *Glotta* i. 13, 14 does not reckon Ἰασον among the cognates of the Ionian name.

I open a parenthesis to remark that it cannot be denied that in the one Homeric passage where this name occurs, N 685 sqq., Ἰάονες in 585 corresponds to οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναίων προλελεγμένοι 689, although the double name for one people is singular at such a short distance, and the construction of μὲν 689 is strange. Still even by Galen's quaint system of counting xviii. 2. 676 ἐν δὲ τῷ ν' τῆς Ἰλιάδος ὥσπερ ἐξεπίτηδες ἐνδείξασθαι βουλόμενος ὥς οὐ χρή πεφροντικέναι τῆς τοιαύτης τάξεως, πάντα καταλέξας ἐφεξῆς πράγματα πρὸς μὲν τὸ δεύτερον (Iaones) ἀπῆντησε πρῶτον (Athenians), εἰθ' ἐξῆς πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον (Boeotians, sc. Phidas etc.), εἰθ' ἐξῆς πρὸς τὸ πέμπτον (Epeans), εἶτα πρὸς τὸ τέταρτον (Phthians), εἶτα πρὸς τὸ τρίτον (Locrians, sc. Ajax)—every nation is accounted for, and by a process of exhaustion Iaones and Athenians are the same. It is difficult however to conceive the circumstances under which in the heroic age the Ionian name applied to Athens only; overt evidence that it did not is given by the story in Nicolaus of Damascus (c. 53) of the war between the Ionians and the Orchomenians. Athenians could have made no direct war on Orchomenus, with the Homeric Boeotians between. The term must have applied to the Locrians of Opus and Larymna, and the war have been between them and Orchomenus. In Hecataeus *fr.* 343 Ion is a Locrian.¹ Therefore, as the position of μὲν suggests, there must have been an omission in the passage. I do not insist on Nicolaus' further detail that the children of the captive Orchomenian women, expelled by their Ionian fathers, εἰς Θορικὸν τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀπεχώρησαν. I must delay a moment to notice that any passage is more likely than this to be an 'Athenian interpolation' (Leaf). An Athenian interpolation would have exhibited Athens as the mother of historical Ionia, not as one among several petty tribes in a small area. I return to the Ἰασον Ἀργος.

Person-names similar to Ἰασον are common; in Homer there is Ἰᾶσος an Athenian O 332, 337, Ἰᾶσίδης an Orchomenian λ 283, a Cyprian ρ 443, Ἰᾶσίῳ lover of Demeter ε 125. I need not go further afield. As a place-name we have Ἰασος or Ἰασσος in Caria, Ἰασον a πόλις on the north border of Laconia, Paus. vii. 13. 7. The word therefore seems a real one and probably ante-Greek. As to its topographical meaning in this passage, the usual belief, as we see in Strabo 369 cited above, was that it meant Peloponnesus (οὐ γὰρ τοὺς ἐξ ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰκός, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐγγύς). One logographer, Hellanicus *fr.* 37 (=schol. Γ 75), gave a more precise definition, however he arrived at it; Ἰασος καὶ Πελασγὸς Τριόπα παῖδες τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς διείλοντο τὴν βασιλείαν. λαχὼν δὲ Πελασγὸς μὲν τὰ πρὸς Ἑρασῖνον ποταμὸν ἔκτισε Λάρισαν, Ἰασος δὲ τὰ πρὸς Ἥλιον (Ἰλιον MS.). The realm of Iasus was the Elis side of

¹ On these peoples there is abundant information in *Δοκρικά* by W. A. Oldfather, *Philologus*, 1908.

Peloponnesus; and this is demanded by the passage in the *Odyssey*. When Professor E. Meyer says (*Forsch.* l.c.) the Ithacans had nothing to do with the Peloponnese, he hardly realises the conditions. To the inhabitants of the archipelago which with Corfù added we call the Ionian islands, 'land,' ἡπειρος, meant the west coast of Peloponnese. The continent opposite them was in the hands of Taphians and Teleboans (the latter a land-people, if Amphitryon Hes. *Scut.* 19 conducted a land-war against them); their social and commercial dealings were with the long flat coast which south of Araxus is only broken by Chelonatas and Ichthys; here they possessed land (B 635 οἳ τ' ἡπειρον ἔχον ἢ δ' ἀντιπέραν ἐνέμοντο).¹ Noemon δ 635 wishes to cross Ἥλιδ' ἐς εὐρύχορον, where he keeps his twelve mares and his unbroken mules; the writer of the *Telegonia*, an even more local poem than the *Odyssey*, tells how after the burial of the suitors Ulysses εἰς Ἥλιν ἀποπλεῖ ἐπισκεψόμενος τὰ βουκόλια; the legend of Pheneus (Paus. viii. 14) made him keep his horses as far off as that.² The linguistic evidence is held to shew that the islanders were a colony from Triphylia (Hoffmann ap. Collitz *Dial. Inschr.* ii. 166); according to Aristarchus reported by Epaphroditus ap. Steph. Byz. in Δουλίχιον the Dulichians were called Ἐπειοί, and cf. Strabo 456; in their isolation the νησιῶται regarded their mother-land as the world. These circumstances fall in with Hellanicus' partition. The Iason argos was the plain of Hollow Elis and Triphylia. On this coast also we find the curious names Σαμικόν, Φειά, Χάα, Ἰάρδανος, which point anywhere but to the Greek tongue. Ἰασον with its Carian cousin may go with them.³

Ἄργος πελασγικόν in Homer is the valley of the Spercheus and the Maliac Gulf as far as Echinus and Alope on the north and (probably) Pylae on the south (*C.R.* 1906, 193 sq.). Mr. Myres remarks (*J.H.S.* 1907, 179 n. 16) that analogy suggests that a specific town is intended. Not necessarily; the section on Sparta B 581-590 is introduced by the district, κοίλην Λακεδαίμονα κητώεσσαν, after which follow the towns Pharis, Sparta, Messe, Bryseae, Augeae, Amyclae, Helos, Laas and Oetylus. I find it difficult also to believe that Πελασγικόν is a descriptive epithet 'suggested by . . . remains of early or at all events prae-Achaean fortifications.' In the cases where the adj. in -κός is given to places it is locative: Ἀμφιλοχικόν, Ἀχαικόν Ὀρεστικόν. Further, Λάρισσα Πελασγία only a little beyond Echinus is suggestive. The domain of Peleus also included the vague aboriginal districts Phthia and Hellas, and of the three names of their inhabitants one was Ἀχαιοί. Hellas moved in later days, Achaeans and Phthia crystallised into the district known as Achaia Phthiotis. The valley of the Spercheus lost its importance in the Dorian system, and became a halt between

¹ Here I am happy to find myself in agreement with Mr. Leaf, against Strabo 461.

² This among other reasons tells against believing the heroic Ithaca to have been the historical Leucas, whatever may have been the name of the Mycenaean community in the latter. If Ithaca had been Leucas, a large peninsula with valleys and abundant soil, it

would either have had no peraea, or if it had, that peraea must have been the mainland from which it was only separated by its lagoon.

³ Fick, *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen*, 1905, p. 121, while suggesting the connection with Ἰασσος thinks of Argolis, which whatever Ἰασον may mean is inconceivable.

two passes; its glory went to the nobles of Pharsalus (nonexistent in Homer), and its name was attracted to the *τετραρχία* Pelasgiotis. I will repeat what I have said before, that for Homer Achilles is a local chieftain, owning a long river-valley, limited at its mouth by the kingdoms of Protesilaus to the north and of the lesser Ajax to the south, and an undefined hinterland.¹

III.

Before we discuss *Ἄργος Ἀχαϊκόν* and *Ἄργος* alone, it is desirable to notice the Homeric account of Agamemnon's own kingdom. It consists B 569 sqq. of Mycenae, Corinth, Cleonae, Orneae, Araethyrea, Sicyon, Hyperesia, Gonoessa, Pellene, Aegium, 'all the Aegialus,' Helice. Of these places Cleonae, Orneae, Gonoessa, and Araethyrea are mountain-villages, Cleonae on the road to Corinth, Orneae, Gonoessa, and Araethyrea at the head of the Asopus valley, on the lower course of which Phlius (not in Homer) and Sicyon stand, but Mycenae is the only one on the southern side, and the only one in the valley later called Argolis. This valley containing the towns of Argos, Tiryns, and also Hermione and Asine in a deep gulf,² Troezen, Eionae, Epidaurus, Aegina and Mases, were under Diomedes the stranger, Sthenelus son of Capaneus, and Euryalus son of Mecisteus. The Argolid kingdom proper consisted of the valley of the Inachus, less Mycenae, and the whole of the Hermionic and Epidaurian peninsula. It was therefore largely maritime. Agamemnon's seaboard on the other hand lay entirely on the gulf of Corinth, as far as the Epean border, and included the dodecapolis, mother of historical Ionia, itself in history Achaea. We are not told of anything corresponding to the later Cenchreae, and it is to be presumed that the *Catalogue* views the Saronic Gulf generally up to Salamis (and its peraea) and Athens as the property of the Argolid monarchy. Agamemnon had no foothold on the Argolic Gulf, and therefore his access to Mycenae was overland only.

These conditions are not merely stated in the *Catalogue*, they hold for the whole of the two poems. When Diomedes returns from Troy he lands 'in Argos,' *comme de juste*.

γ 180 τέτρατον ἡμαρ ἔην ὅτ' ἐν Ἄργεϊ νῆας εἶσας
Τυδείδew ἔταροι Διομήδεος ἱπποδάμοιο
ἔστασαν.

Agamemnon's νόστος was quite different:

δ 512 σὸς δέ που ἔκφυγε κῆρας ἀδελφεὸς ἢδ' ὑπάλυξεν
ἐν νηυσὶ γλαφυρῇσι· σαώσε δὲ πότνια Ἥρη.
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τάχ' ἔμελλε Μαλαιῶν ὄρος αἰπύ
ἰξεσθαι, τότε δὴ μιν ἀναρπάξασα θύελλα

¹ On the topography of Phthiotis see Staehlin *Attik. Mitth.* xxxi. 1 sq. (1906). It is curious that we hear of a Κρόκιον πεδίων, not a Κρόκιον ἄργος.

² The Homeric phrase βαθὺν κατὰ κόλπον ἐχούσας seems translated by the Hesiodic παρέξ ἄλα ναιεταῖσας.

πόντον ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντα φέρεν βάρεα στενάχοντα,
 ἄγρου ἐπ' ἐσχατιήν, ὅθι δώματα ναῖα Θυέστης
 τὸ πρὶν, ἀτὰρ τότε ἔναιε Θυεστιάδης Αἰγισθος.
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ κείθεν ἐφαίνετο νόστος ἀπήμων,
 ἄψ δὲ θεοὶ οὖρον στρέψαν καὶ οἶκαδ' ἵκοντο,
 ἦτοι ὁ μὲν χαίρων ἐπεβήσето πατρίδος αἴης.

'Now thy brother escaped and avoided death on shipboard, for Hera saved him. But when he was soon about to come to the steep hill of Maleae, at that time a storm caught him and bare him out to sea, sore groaning, to the end of the land, where once Thyestes had his house and at that time Aegisthus, son of Thyestes, had his. But when there appeared a safe passage from that place also, and the Gods turned the wind, and they reached their home, he set foot on his fatherland.' The voyage was good as far as Malea; at Malea the storm caught him (as it caught Menelaus and Odysseus; it spared Nestor). Why did Agamemnon make for Malea? for the same reason that Nestor, Odysseus and Menelaus did,—that it lay between him and his home. This surely is absolutely plain. Modern commentators however, at least from Nietzsche to Mr. Agar, under the obsession of Tragic anachronisms, say to themselves 'welchen Weg hatte er also genommen, dass er eher auf Maleia zukam als an die heimische Küste von Argos und Mykenä?' What a route indeed! The rest of the voyage though elliptic is easy. It is elliptical because that is the ancient manner,¹ and we have had one storm off Malea already (γ 286) and are to have another (180). The wind 'blew him out to sea, to the end of the land'; Andron (*F.H.G.* ii. 350). said to Cythera, but this explanation is taken from the parallel experience of Odysseus, ι 81, where my family *a* actually read *παρέπλαγξεν δὲ Κυθήροις*; and also an island can hardly be called *ἐσχατιή γαίης*. 'The verge of the land' must have been some part of the coast which they managed to make, the hereditary portion of the younger branch of the house of Pelops. This may have been the later Messenia, as we see I 292–294 that Agamemnon is able to dispose of a number of towns on this coast. Here Agamemnon *quassas refecit rates* (Aegisthus of course was away from home, at Corinth or Mycenae, playing his own game),² and when the wind changed and heaven sent a good passage, he reached his home at the head of the Corinthian gulf without more adventure.

This is a consistent picture. I will add that it looks as though Menelaus also made his much-deferred homecoming to Corinth.³ For 'the very day that Orestes buried his mother and Aegisthus, came valiant Menelaus,' *πολλὰ κτήματ' ἄγων ὅσα οἱ νέες ἄχθος ἄειραν*. And Telemachus' question implies he would naturally have been there, *ποῦ Μενέλαος ἔην*;—*ἦ οὐκ Ἀργεος ἦεν Ἀχαικοῦ*; A great part of the Peloponnese, all except Argos, Triphylia, Arcadia and Elis

¹ Galen vi. 106 τὸ δὲ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐρμηνείας εἶδος οὕτως ἐστὶ βραχύλογον ὥς πολλὰ πολλάκις ὑπερβαίνειν δοκεῖν τῇ λέξει τῶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπομένων τοῖς λεγομένοις, *sim.* ix. 760, x. 275. What Galen felt of Ionic prose is true and even more true of Epos.

² And therefore need not, at Bothe's hands, endure transposition.

³ Dictys vi. 2 puts Idomeneus and other heroes at Corinth when the war was over.

was more or less directly dependent on Agamemnon. The princes of the house were given *terres*, independent as Menelaus, dependent (apparently) as Aegisthus.

2. Another circumstance of the Trojan War which fits in with Agamemnon's kingdom is the rendezvous of the international fleet at Aulis. Why did the forces under the hegemony of the King of Men collect at a port in a country which took no prominent part in the Trojan War? This question has drawn many and elaborate answers, of which the one most in accord with the higher imagination is that the locality is a survival from the original North Grecian or Thessalian Iliad, those spectres of the learned. In ancient matters, in proportion as they are ancient, reasons and causes are simple. What does the Stele under the Lapis Niger contain? Only, as far as the Latin can be made out, a police-regulation. Mr. Hogarth's silver plate from the slime of the Cayster bears a temple-account. The reason why the Greek armada rendezvoused at Aulis was first that Agamemnon had no port on the west coast of Greece. A fleet destined for Asia could not be asked to meet in the Corinthian Gulf. The princes indeed, at the preliminary ἀγερμός, met Agamemnon at Aegium, a very central spot, as central as Delphi, according to the local story (Paus. vii. 24. 2), but the ships naturally required an anchorage on the west. Agamemnon had no ports of his own, the later Nauplia if it existed belonged to Argolis; the Athenian inlets or Salamis might have afforded an anchorage, but would these little barren lands have provided the *ravitaillement* of such an armada? The all but land-locked bays of the Euripus were obvious. Aulis and the neighbouring inlets were the port of Boeotia; hence the Aeolic migration started (Strabo 401). Here the road to Thebes and the pilgrims' way to Delphi began. If Cadmus ever landed, he landed here. In later times, when political circumstances made the roads of Aulis no longer free, Geraestus in Euboea was a rendezvous for a fleet sailing to Asia. Agesilaus, reminded of Agamemnon, transferred his anchorage to Aulis, and offended the Thebans by doing so. At Aulis Demetrius Poliorcetes put in (Diod. xx. 100). A potentate who had to collect a fleet of 1186 sail, sent from all parts of Greece, would naturally choose the Euripus.

Another question has been asked: Why do the Boeotians, who cut no figure at Troy, take the first place in the *Catalogue*? Not because they cut a better figure in some earlier epos, or in some earlier stage of this epos, but because the *Catalogue*, as is plain, represents the original arrangement of the contingents at Aulis, and was taken by Homer from its place and time in saga to his second book and to the Troad. (And hence, in case anyone with Mr. Murray, *Anthropology and the Classics*, p. 67, doubts if 'the Cypria as a poem can definitely be called later than the Iliad,' there is no Greek Catalogue in the Cypria, which like the rest of the Cycle was conditioned body and soul by Homer, and took his leavings.) The Boeotians as masters of the soil and the waters, gave themselves the first place in the fleet. We may conjecture that with their fifty sail they filled the ὄρμος of Aulis, which according to Strabo 403 is only large enough πεντήκοντα πλοίοις, and that the rest occupied the inlets on both coasts.

And thirdly, why is the whole *Catalogue* referred to as *Βοιωτία*? The answer to this is easy; according to the Greek custom, familiar in scholastic matters (of which this is one), of quoting a series of things by the first of them: e.g. schol. A Γ 277 [ἡ διπλῇ] πρὸς τὴν ἀθέτησιν τῶν ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ ὥκέα δ' ἡελίῳ ὑπερίονι ἄγγελος ἦλθεν. The athetesis covered sixteen lines. Apoll. Dysc. *pronom.* 109. 20 Schneider τὸ μέντοι ἀλλ' αἰεὶ φρεσὶν ἦσιν ἔχων ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐμαῖς εὐλόγως ὑπ' Ἀριστάρχου ὑπωπτεύετο ὡς νόθον. Four lines (v. 320-323) were athetised.

The later Ὀμηρικοί never completely realised prae-Dorian history in this respect. They wavered between the prevailing political conception of a single Dorian Argos, and the statements in Homer. Strabo 372 recognises Agamemnon's northern possessions but adds καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν Ἀργολικὴν τῇ Μυκηναίᾳ προσέθηκεν, the exact contrary of the truth. Pausanias ii. 4. 2, his mind full of different Corinthian traditions, is aware that the Corinthians were not an independent nation at the siege of Troy, but conceives of them as subject to the 'dynasts at Mycenae or Argos.' Ephorus (*fr.* 28=Strabo 462) must be given the credit of facing the facts and inventing a story to account for Agamemnon as well as Diomedes being king of Argos. It is that while Diomedes with most of his men was away on a campaign in Acarnania, Agamemnon seized Argolis; but when the Trojan war broke out, he recalled Diomedes ἐπὶ τε τὴν Ἀργεὺς ἀπόληψιν καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τοῦ πολέμου. This is a real 'combination,' a type of the genus, and a good contrast to the unadapted statements of epos.

These are the political conditions, in the *Iliad*, of the district afterwards known as Argos and Argolis. We must next examine the usage of the word in Homer. First it denotes as in later times the valley of the Inachus, both the town (B 559) and the district (γ 180). This is its sense in the story of Theoclymenus ο 224, 239, 240 (Argolis whence Amphiaraus started for Thebes), and in Diomedes's mouth Z 224 Ξ 119 (πατήρ δ' ἐμὸς Ἀργεὺς νάσθη). The Argos which Hera loved Δ 52 is presumably that in sight of her temple; and this is the meaning of her title Ἀργεῖη Δ 8 E 908 (local, in antithesis to Ἀλαλκομενίης Ἀθήνη). An epithet is devoted to Argolis T 114:

Ἦρῃ δ' αἶξασα λίπεν ρίον Οὐλύμποιο,
καρπαλίμως δ' ἔκετ' Ἀργος Ἀχαικὸν ἐνθ' ἄρα ἦδη
ἰφθίμην ἄλοχον Σθενέλου Περσηιάδαο.

The claims of the Perseidae to be Achaeans are not obvious, but their story connects them with Mycenae, and to make light of the passage would be to fall into the *petitio principii* which belongs as of right to advanced interpretation. To Argolis on the same ground belongs Ἀργος ἐς ἱππόβοτον O 30 in a Heracles-episode, and probably Argos the town φ 108. The phrase Achaean Argos however occurs also in Agamemnon's mouth I 141

εἰ δέ κεν Ἀργος ἰκοίμεθ' Ἀχαικόν, οἴθαρ ἀρούρης,
γαμβροῦς κέν μοι ἔοι,

where he is thinking of his own kingdom, his three daughters and the seven Messenian villages he will give as dowry. It would be hard to make Ἀργος

'Αχαικὸν οὖθαρ ἀρούρης refer to a castle on a hill; it is his fertile land at large. The question put by Telemachus γ 249 ποῦ Μενέλαος ἔην; . . . ἥ οὐκ Ἄργεος ἦεν Ἀχαικοῦ ἀλλὰ πη ἄλλη πλάξετ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους; can only be interpreted of Mycenae if we insist that Agamemnon's murder took place there; and Homer neither states nor implies this. *Prima facie* it is more probable that the ambush and the slaughter took place at Corinth before the King of Men had time to look round.¹ We see therefore that in one case Ἀχαικὸν Ἄργος means Argolis, in a second Agamemnon's kingdom which is not Argolis, and some place in Agamemnon's kingdom in a third. The epithet therefore is not distinctive as between Corinth and Argolis. Now that Agamemnon's kingdom could be called Ἄργος appears from Z 152

ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρη μυχῷ Ἄργεος ἵπποβότοιο,
ἐνθα δὲ Σίσυφος ἔσκειν.

Sisyphus is firmly connected with Corinth and with no other place. Mr. Leaf's combinations (ad l.) cannot be allowed. We must admit that Corinth is described as 'at the end of the plain.' The Agamemnonian kingdom was in fact an argos, or a succession of arge, a riviera, a plain or plains by the sea; αἰγιαλὸν τ' ἀνὰ πάντα is part of its entry in the *Catalogue*; one of the Sicyonian tribes was called Αἰγιαλείς (Herod. v. 51). The word as a specific designation of this coast was superseded in historical times by Ἀχαία, but it survives in one passage.² In the version of the oracle quoted above given by Ion and Mnaseas the Aegieans not the Megarians were the applicants; a portion of this version remains in two articles in Suidas, Αἰγίεις and Ὑμείς. In the latter it is said ἱστορεῖ δὲ Μνασέας ὅτι Αἰγίεις οἱ ἐν Ἀχαίᾳ καταναυμαχίσαντες Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ λαβόντες πεντηκόντορον αὐτῶν δεκάτην Πυθοὶ ἀνατιθέντες ἡρώτων τίνες εἶεν κρείττους τῶν Ἑλλήνων. In the shorter version s. Αἰγίεις we read οἱ γὰρ ἐν Ἀργεὶ Αἰγίεις νικήσαντες κτλ. Of the two Ἀχαία is the gloss.

With so much ascertained we can give a definite meaning to Agamemnon's expressions. When he calls his kingdom ἄργος Ἀχαικὸν οὖθαρ ἀρούρης I 141, 283, or when it is said of Aegisthus γ 263 he wooed Agamemnon's wife μυχῷ Ἄργεος ἵπποβότοιο (whether the courting took place at Corinth or Mycenae), the reference is to the fertility of the north coast of Peloponnesus, especially the broader plain of Corinth and Sicyon. The fame of this fertility survives in the proverb εἰ τὸ μέσον κτήσαιο Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυῶνος (εὐφορος γὰρ ἡ χώρα schol. Ar. *Birds* 968). Ἰππόβοτος³ is justified by the story of Pegasus and Bellerophon, the

¹ For ἐκὰς Ἄργεος γ 260 the sense shows we must read with the minority of the MSS. ἐκὰς ἄστεος. The reading Ἄργεος was brought by ἐκὰς from I 146 δ 99 ω 37. To avoid the neglect of the digamma we may read ἐκὰ with Bekker or ἀπὸ with Mr. Agar.

² It survives also in Pausanias, who distinctly says that Corinth (ii. 1. 1) and Sicyon (ib. 7. 1) are each a μοῖρα τῆς Ἀργείας; viii. 1. 2 he defines what he here calls Ἀργολίς by saying it includes Sicyon, μετὰ δὲ Σικυῶνα Ἀχαιοὶ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν εἰσίν. The coincidence

between these passages and the usage of the term in Homer cannot be denied; but it is not plain if Pausanias uses the word geographically or politically; in the second passage (ii. 7. 1) he appears to conceive the name as a mark and result of the conquests of Dorian Argos.

³ Like other epic attributes it is not superlative or exclusive. The predication is made without reference. Land near Chalcis was called ἡ ἱππόβοτος, the Horse-mead, Ael. *V.H.* vi. 1.

invention of the bridle (Pindar *Ol.* 13), the trademarks koppa (Corinth) and sampi (Sicyon). The attribute πολυδίψιον Δ 171 is no hindrance; any Mediterranean land watered by short torrents falling at a considerable slope and turning into *ghiarre* in the summer may be called thirsty. The Achaean riviera had a better title to the epithet than Argolis, with its swamp and its water-snake.¹ The Italian Marche are an example of a land which is at once thirsty and fertile. When Agamemnon A 30 says ἡμετέρῳ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ ἐν Ἀργεῖ (and sim. B 115 I 22) he refers to his παραλία, and so Idomeneus N 378 δοῖμεν δ' Ἀτρεΐδαο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστην Ἀργεος ἐξαγαγόντες ὀπιούμεν.

We may notice some other possibly local usages.

Menelaus δ 174 sq. tells Telemachus how he would like to have brought his father bodily to his own country and settled him near him:

καὶ κέ οἱ Ἀργεῖ νάσσα πόλιν καὶ δώματ' ἔτευξα
ἐξ Ἰθάκης ἀγαγὼν σὺν κτήμασι καὶ τεκεῖ ᾧ
καὶ πᾶσιν λαοῖσι, μίαν πόλιν ἐξαλαπάξας
αἱ περιναετᾶουσιν ἀνάσσονται δ' ἐμοὶ αὐτῶ.
καὶ κε θάμ' ἐνθάδ' ἐόντες ἐμισγόμεθ'.

This is all very local, there is no question of Argolis or 'Achaea.' Is ἄργεῖ used ὀνοματικῶς, as 'the plain,' or the delta of the Eurotas?

Hector, foreseeing his wife's fate, Z 456, says:

καὶ κεν ἐν Ἀργεῖ εὐῶσα πρὸς ἄλλης ἰστὸν ὑφαίνοις,
καὶ κεν ὕδωρ φορέοις Μεσσηίδος ἢ Ὑπερείης
πόλλ' ἀέκαζομένη.

Did Hector mean the whole passage generically?—the middle and the upper well? or, as seems more epical, did the saga-poet take these names from some town of his acquaintance and put them into Hector's mouth? and what town? The same or similar names are common. Ὑπερησία was the old name of Aegira in 'Achaea' (Strabo 383, Paus. vii. 26. 2); Μεσσηίς was a fountain at Therapne (*ib.* iii. 20. 1) and Ὑπέρεια at Troezen (*ib.* ii. 30. 8); both were pointed out by the Pharsalians (Strabo 432), and a well Hyperea existed ἐν μέσῃ τῇ Φεραίων πόλει (*ib.* 439 Pindar Pyth. iv. 125), and another is mentioned in Eurypylus' section in the *Catalogue* B 734. These two localities therefore throw no light on the Ἀργος in question, if it be specific; but Hector would probably imagine his wife becoming Agamemnon's slave. Lastly, what does the famous predication of Agamemnon mean

πολλῇσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἀργεῖ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν?

We have seen what his actual kingdom was; but 'my whole coast' is no great title; nor is it likely, if possible, to take παντὶ distributively, 'every valley' (and the Iason argos was not his): the other member shews that Ἀργος means more. There are no islands attached to 'Achaea,' the Argolic islands belonged

¹ Aristotle *Meteor.* 352 a 8 said Argolis was ἐλώδης and uncultivated in heroic days.

to Sthenelus; Cerigo and Cerigotto, possessions no doubt of Menelaus, can hardly count as 'many.' It is plain we must interpret the line of the hegemony of Agamemnon, the peoples who answered to his call. The 'islands' are the islands duly registered in the *Catalogue*, Cos, Carpathus, etc., "Ἀργος is the land, from Oloosson to Lacedaemon.

Beside these specific uses of the term, there are also the general uses, in which "Ἀργος means Greece and Ἀργεῖοι Greeks. The substantive occurs in this sense at B 287, 348, H 363, I 246, M 70, N 227, O 372, T 229, Ω 437, δ 99, ω 37 (H 363 said by Paris conceivably meant Lacedaemon). Among the speakers are Achilles and Nestor; the term therefore was natural in the mouth of the former. The adjective everyone knows is an equivalent of Ἀχαιοί and Δαναοί; the only exceptions are Ἡρῇ Ἀργεῖῃ, Ἀργεῖων Δαναῶν θ 578 and possibly Ἀργεῖη Ἑλένη.

IV.

What is the relation between the specific and the general sense of the word? Did the latter grow out of the former, and by what process?

The ancients answered this question by saying that Argos in Homer meant the Peloponnese, Argos Achaicum meant the same thing, and Argos Pelasgicum meant Thessaly. The latter two phrases we have examined. That Argos by itself was the name of Peloponnesus is, so stated, an untenable proposition. We know of no word ἄργος except ἄργος=πεδῖον and cannot assume another without this original meaning; and that Peloponnesus was ever called connotatively 'Plain' is impossible: no land so little deserved the name as the mountainous, indented, wooded island of Pelops. The statement is an induction from the usage of Homer, and a bad induction; the terms in Homer cover more than Peloponnesus. Ἀργεῖοι, like Δαναοί or κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν, includes the whole host, islanders and North-Greeks. "Ἀργος T 329 is the country which Achilles is not to see again. Argos and Argivi connote the whole Greek country and the whole of its inhabitants. How did it come to do this if its intrinsic meaning is not true of the Peloponnese, and even less true of the islands?

Significant names appear to be bestowed on places in two ways: (a) when they really apply; for instance Ἡλῆς, Holland, Iceland, Piemonte, Canton du Valais; (b) when they do not apply, or no longer apply; e.g. England Switzerland, Romagna. The former process may be called natural, the latter political. The application of the term Argos to Greece at large is clearly not natural; I suggest that it was a political term. In Italian clerical circles it is still the fashion to call the actual kingdom, government and army of Italy 'Piedmontese'; circumstances can be conceived—suppose the Holy See had moved to Malta or to Corsica—when Italy might have been known as Piemonte. The spread of a name really belonging to a place or people to a place and people to which it does not belong, is a commonplace even in the ancient

world; in Greece the expansion and contraction of the terms Achaea and Hellas are typical. Now the term Argos in Homer occurs, besides the passages we have already quoted, in two antitheses to exactly these words:

ἀν' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος α 344 δ 726, 816 ο 80
 Ἄργος ἐς ἱππόβοτον καὶ Ἀχαιίδα καλλιγύναικα Γ 75, 258.

Hellas in Homer is a district to the north of the upper waters of the Spercheus; when Greek literature begins again, it connotes the whole Greek race. Achaea and Achaean in Homer mean the race, in later history the word is limited to the coast between Pagasae and cape Posidium, and to the north coast of Peloponnesus. The steps of the process cannot be given, but the beginning and the end of that process, contrary in either case, are plain. The antitheses between these two terms and Argos show that Argos is a third example of the genus. It combines with Hellas and again with Achaeis to express in a figurative way, the whole of Greece. It is therefore the kind of place-name which we may expect to find both local and general. Now mediaeval history fortunately explains itself; we know why and how a Danish tribe settled on our east coast gave its name to our island. The various Englefields discernible in Berkshire do not darken our historical eye, and we find canton Schwyz compatible with the country Schweiz. We accept also the fact, obscure though it is, that the Romans chose the unknown Γραικοί by whom to designate the Hellenic race. What local Argives, and by what process, asserted their right to give the Greeks an immortal name?

Does the change date from the Achaean or Homeric world? Was Agamemnon with his Myceno-Corinthian kingdom, his argos, so important that the Greeks as his subjects were called Ἀργεῖοι? Hardly; we must not exaggerate the overlordship of the ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν, whose position, with its undeniable prerogatives, has been defined by Mr. Lang (*Homer and his Age* c. 4 and 5, *Anthropology and the Classics* p. 51 sq.). Or did the Inachian Argos supply the Greeks with a single name? Not during the Achaean period, when it was of no particular importance and did not belong to the Overlord.

There are however indications that 'Argos' held a different position before the day of the Atridae. The castles of Mycenae and Tiryns can hardly have been originally in different hands, and the Argolis-valley is connected with the northern watershed by a system of narrow paved and bridged roads. Paving, as Prof. E. Meyer (*Gesch. d. Alt.* ii. 170, 180) observes, implies the passage of chariots, that is to say a military not a commercial thoroughfare. Mere goods can be conveyed along unpaved bridlepaths on beasts or on men's backs—as took place between the Valtellina and the Engadine, and the Engadine and Davos till not long ago. Now a strategic or military road over a pass implies that both ends of it belong to the same power. The tunnel under the col de Fréjus, which we call the Mont Cenis, was made by the kingdom of Sardinia at a time when Savoy and Piedmont were in the same hands, and to unite two parts of the same country. The North German canal connects German waters. In

Agamemnon's day Mycenae, his only possession on the southern side, was no doubt valuable, whether for pleasure or for safety; but it does not seem enough of itself to account for these elaborate communications. At the period when these tracks were paved Argolis and Corinth, the two arge, were in the same hands, and it was found worth while to provide for the speedy shifting of troops from one sea to the other. Such a kingdom, holding the *claustra Peloponnesi* and receiving the traffic of two worlds, might have given a political extension of its name to the whole country, North and South. The race who did so were clearly the people who built the castles of Argolis, who according to Dr. Mackenzie (*B.S.A.* 1906-7, p. 425) put an end to the empire of Cnossus and colonised Melos, call we them Mycenaeans, Pelasgians, or Ionians (with Kretschmer *Glotta* i. 9 sq.). Their Argos was not 'Αχαϊκόν; the incoming race added this name to the old word. 'Αργος, like Phthia, remained a place-name, strictly inconsistent, like Provence or Lombardy, with actual political circumstances. The Achaeans divided the original kingdom, why we do not know (we know however why Savoy was given to Napoleon III.), the Hegemon of the new race gave up Argolis with the exception of Mycenae, and the paved roads led now to nothing but the 'summerpalace' with the tombs of the old kings. The Dukes of Savoy sleep in French soil, but then they were not buried at Modane. The new Corinthian dynasty recouped itself by expanding westwards; the conquest of Sicyon has its echo in the *Catalogue* (B 572). I submit then that the wide sense of Argos and Argive, meaning Greece and Greek, is a survival from an earlier prae-Achaean civilisation. It is remarkable that while the other two race-names 'Αχαιοί and Δαναοί have their equivalents on foreign monuments, nothing corresponding to 'Αργεῖοι has been found. Nomenclature among nations is largely traditional and conventional; our diplomatic title is British, and the Americans and our colonists style us Britishers, but it is not a name we affect; on the other hand we are singular in calling the inhabitants of Holland Dutch. The full name of prae-Achaean Greeks may have been longer than the simple 'Αργεῖοι; the Greeks may have abbreviated the term, while foreigners kept the older word. As 'Αχαιοί belongs to the new race, possibly the remaining term Δαναοί may have been the real old race-name, and the full style 'Αργεῖοι Δαναοί, Danaï of Argos. The combination survives, θ 578, where it has been needlessly attacked. What in the other antithesis 'Αχαιῖς means who shall say? The most southern point at which the name is fossilised in history is Agamemnon's dependency. In the phrase however it may mean northern as against southern Greece, and καλλιγύναικα may attest the effect of the blonde Achaean belle upon the swarthy Mycenaean.

According to Mr. Dawkin's *compte rendu*, *J.H.S.* 1908, pp. 323, 324, MM. Peet, Wace and Thompson, *C.R.* 1908, 236, and Mr. Wace in the current *A.M.*, the late stone age lasted longer in south Thessaly, Phthiotis and North Boeotia than elsewhere in Greece; that is to say the Bronze civilisation, which is the Mycenaean, arrived there comparatively late. These are exactly the

districts to which the names Hellas and Achaea clung. In Homer there is no distinction, in manners, language or race, between one part of Greece and another, there is nothing to account for the antithesis between Argos and Hellas or Achaeis. If an excavation shews at one time during the Mycenaean period the boundary of North and South Greece was drawn a little south of the Cephissus beyond which for a long time the bronze culture of Argos or Mycenae did not penetrate, is not the antithesis accounted for? It is a survival in Homer from the flourishing days of the Mycenaean monarchy when the people of Achaea and Hellas were a kind of Picts and Scots.¹ The permanence of the name Achaea in this district also suggests that the Achaeans may have settled there for some time before they made their further advance southward.

After the Dorian conquest had moved away Pelasgian and Achaeans alike, the Dorian state of Argos appropriated the name and its associations. Corinth, except for one brief moment,² was never called Argos again. The Achaeans name however clung to the shore of the Corinthian gulf. The conception that Agamemnon was king of Argos and Nauplia was consecrated by Tragedy, not more ignorant of the sentiment than of the facts of the heroic age. Its evidence is justly decried by Plutarch *Theseus* 16, 28, 29 and Pausanias i. 3. 3, 28. 7, 30. 4.

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¹ If Zerelia is not Itonos, is it Arne? Hesiod in the *Aspis* places it in this region (cf. *C.R.* 1906, 200). Such an ancient site (if it goes back to 3000 B.C.) would leave a name when it had ceased to be inhabited. Contrariwise the site Glà in Boeotia remains, but without a name (I suggested *Γλήχων*, *C.R.* 1902, 239). Further, do the epithets Argos

πελασγικόν and Larissa *πελασγία* recall a moment when the Pelasgian frontier was more northerly, namely at Othrys? Frontier places, like Mezzo Lombardo, are often labelled.

² Xen. *Hell.* iv. 4. 6 *αἰσθανόμενοι ἀφανιζομένην τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ καὶ ὄρους ἀνασπᾶσθαι καὶ Ἄργος ἀντὶ Κορίνθου τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῖς ὀνομάζεσθαι.*

EMENDATIONS IN STRABO AND PLUTARCH'S MORALIA.

I. STRABO (*Kramer's text*).

STRABO i. 2. 20. ἢ τὴν Θράκην οὐκ οἶδε (sc. ὁ "Ομηρος) μὴ προπίπτουσιν πέραν τῶν Παιονικῶν καὶ Θετταλικῶν ὁρῶν; ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐφεξῆς κατὰ τοὺς Θρᾶκας εἰδώς, καὶ τοῦ κατονομάζων τὴν τε παραλίαν καὶ τὴν μεσογαίαν Μάγνητας μὲν τινὰς . . . καταλέγει κ.τ.λ. It is true that οὐ is contrary to the sense, but those who reject it should explain how it came into the passage. Read εὖ κατονομάζων . . .

i. 3. 15. συγχωρήσας δὲ τῷ μετεωρισμῷ τοῦ ἐδάφους συμμετεωρισθεῖσαν καὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐπικλύσαι τοὺς μέχρι τοῦ μαντείου τόπους, πλέον ἢ ἀπὸ θαλάττης διέχοντος τῶν τρισχιλίων σταδίων. Read πλέον τι . . . (H = τι, as often).

i. 4. 1. καὶ περὶ τοῦ σχήματος δ' ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς διὰ πλειόνων †καὶ δεικνύς, ὅτι σφαιροειδὴς καὶ ἡ γῆ σὺν τῇ ὑγρᾷ φύσει καὶ ὁ οὐρανός, ἀλλοτριολογεῖν ἂν δόξειεν. No greater change is required than καταδεικνύς.

ii. 1. 18. οὗτος δὲ Πυθία πιστεύων κατὰ τὰ ἱνοτιώτερα τῆς Βρεταννικῆς τὴν οἴκησιν ταύτην τίθησι. All editors agree that the context requires the opposite word. But to substitute τὰ ἀρκτικώτερα is out of the question. Read τὰ ἀνώτερα (or rather τὰ νώτερα, which was misdivided).

iii. 2. 7. καὶ οἱ θύννοι δ' ὅσῳ πλείον συνεγγίζουσι ταῖς Στήλαις ἔξωθεν φερόμενοι, τοσῶδ' ἰσχυαίνονται πλείον, τῆς τροφῆς ἐπιλειπούσης· εἶναι τε †παρὰ θαλάττιον ἢν τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο. εἶναι has no construction and παρὰ no sense. παρὰ is a misreading of the compendium for παροιμία: 'it is a saying that this creature is the sea-pig'. The saying is known from Athenaeus. See Kramer here.

iii. 2. 8. τὸν μὲν ἄργυρον ἀποκαίεσθαι τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν ὑπομένειν· εὐδιάχτος γὰρ †ὁ τύπος καὶ λιθώδης. Coraes reads λιπώδης. For the rest, ὁ τύπος is regarded as desperate. Read εὐδιάχτος γὰρ τὸ ὕφος . . . It is easily fused as to its 'texture'.

iii. 3. 3. ἢ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη φησὶν ὁ Ποσειδάιος οὐκ ὀρθῶς αἰτιάσθαι †τὴν παραλίαν καὶ τὴν Μαυρουσίαν τῶν πλημμυρίδων καὶ τῶν ἀμπώτεων παλιρροεῖν γὰρ φάναι τὴν θάλατταν διὰ τὸ τὰς ἄκρας ὑψηλὰς τε καὶ τραχείας εἶναι, δεχομένας

τε τὸ κῦμα σκληρῶς καὶ ἀνταποδιδούσας τῇ †'Ιβηρίᾳ. It is admitted that 'Ιβηρίᾳ is nonsense. The copyist is engaged in writing about 'Ιβηρίᾳ and it is natural that he should make this mistake for . . . καὶ ἀνταποδιδούσας τῇ ἴσῃ βίᾳ. The earlier corruption in the passage may be emended with . . . τὴν <'Ιβηρικὴν> παραλίαν.

iv. 4. 5. πρόσσεστι δὲ τῇ ἀνοίᾳ καὶ τὸ βάρβαρον καὶ τὸ ἔκφυλον, ὃ τοῖς προσβόρροις ἔθνεσι παρακολουθεῖ πλείστον, τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἀπιόντας τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐξάπτειν ἐκ τῶν αὐχένων τῶν ἵππων, κομίσαντας δὲ προσπατταλεύειν τὴν †θέαν τοῖς προφυλαίοις. Read τὴν θήραν. (Cf. the ἄγρα of Agave in the *Bacchae*.)

v. 2. 5. μεταξὺ δὲ Δούνης καὶ Πίσσης ὁ Μάκρης ἐστὶ †χωρίον, ᾧ πέρατι τῆς Τυρρηνίας καὶ τῆς Διγυστικῆς κέχρηται. The conjectures ποτάμιον (Kramer), χεϊμάρρους (Madvig), are scarcely so near as χαράδριον.

v. 3. 1. ἔστρωται δὲ δι' αὐτῶν ἡ Σαλαρία ὁδὸς οὐ †πολλὴ οὖσα. Kramer rightly objects to this as contrary to the fact. Nor is the word suitable. Read οὐ φάυλη.

v. 4. 13. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γὰρ †εὖ ἐτρύφησαν, ὥστ' ἐπὶ δειπνον ἐκάλουν πρὸς ζεύγη μονομάχων. Read ἐξετρύφησαν.

vi. 1. 1. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐκπλέοντι †τὸν πόντον νῆσος Λευκωσία. Both geography and expression require . . . ἐκπλέοντι πρὸς νότον . . .

vi. 3. 1. ἔστι δ' †ἐπιχερρονησιάζουσα ἡ Μεσσαπία. Read ὑποχ. It is 'rather peninsular'.

vi. 3. 2. A conspiracy has been formed—τούτων δ' ἦν καὶ Φάλανθος, ὅσπερ ἐδόκει προστάτης ὑπάρχειν αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἠρέσκετο δ' ἀπλῶς τοῖς περὶ τῆς βουλῆς †ὀνομασθεῖσι. Madvig's δογματισθεῖσι is remote, and the νομισθεῖσι of Coraes is weak. Read συννομοσθεῖσι.

x. 1. 15. τῶν δ' ἐκ Τροίας ἐπανιόντων Εὐβοέων τινὲς εἰς Ἰλλυρίους ἐκπεσόντες, †'Αβαντες οἵκαδε διὰ τῆς Μακεδονίας περὶ Ἐδεσσαν ἔμειναν. Read ἄραντες. They 'started'.

x. 3. 8. ἡ δὲ ἐνόπλιος ὄρχησις στρατιωτικὴ, †καὶ ἡ πυρρίχη δηλοῖ καὶ ὁ Πύρριχος, ὃν φασιν εὐρετὴν εἶναι τῆς τοιαύτης ἀσκήσεως τῶν νέων †καὶ τὰ στρατιωτικά. The sense required is in the first place <ὥς> καὶ ἡ πυρρίχη . . . , and in the second καινοῦντα τὰ στρατιωτικά.

xi. 2. 6. ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶν ὁ στενότατος πορθμὸς τοῦ στόματος τῆς Μαιωτίδος, ὅσον εἴκοσι σταδίων ἢ πλείονων, ἔχων ἐν τῇ περαίᾳ κόμην τὸ Μυρμήκιον. πλησίον δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ †Ἡρακλείου καὶ τὸ Παρθένιον. As τὸ Ἡρακλείον has not been mentioned, not only is its introduction abrupt, but καὶ has no meaning. Read τοῦ κλείθρου, i.e. the said narrowest part of the entrance.

xi. 5. 1. They say of the Amazons that they live τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον

καθ' αὐτὰς αὐτουργούσας ἕκαστα, τὰ τε πρὸς ἄροτον καὶ φυτουργίαν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὰς νομάς, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἵππων, τὰς δ' ἀλκιμωτάτας τῶν ἱππων κυνηγεσίαις πλεονάζειν καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀσκεῖν. Some MSS give ἐφ' ἵππων for τῶν ἵππων. Read τῶν ἐφ' ἡβων.

xi. 6. 3. ψήθησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ παρέξῃσθαι τὴν γραφὴν ἡδεῖαν, εἰς ἐν ἱστορίας σχήματι λέγωσιν ἂ μὴδέποτε εἶδον μῆτε ἤκουσαν, ἢ οὐ παρά γε εἰδότες, σκοποῦντες † δι' αὐτὸ δὲ μόνον τοῦτο, ὅτι ἀκρόασιν ἡδεῖαν ἔχει καὶ θαυμαστήν. Read σκοποῦντες δι' αὐτὸ δὲ μόνον τοῦτο, ὅτι κ.τ.λ.

xi. 7. 2. καὶ † διὰ τὸ μὲν εἶδος τῆς εὐδαιμονίας σημεῖα ἡγούνται†. al. καὶ τοῦ μὲν εἶδους, or καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τοῦ εἶδους. The words are without meaning. I am convinced that τοῦ μὲν εἶδους contains τοῦ μεγέθους and that διὰ represents <νῆ> Δία. Accepting the conjecture διηγούνται (see Kramer) we may restore καὶ <νῆ> Δία τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς εὐδαιμονίας σημεῖα <δι>ηγούνται.

xii. 8. 19. ἡ δὲ μεταξὺ Λαοδικείας καὶ Ἀπαμείας λίμνη καὶ βορβορώδη καὶ ὑπόνομον τὴν ἀποφορὰν ἔχει. Read καὶ <καθ'> ὑπόνομον. It has a smell after the manner of a sewer.

II. PLUTARCH'S MORALIA (Bernardakis' text).

PLUTARCH *Mor.* 44 B πολλοὶ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ κακῶς καὶ παρὰ μέλος τὴν Πυθαγόρου φωνὴν ὑπολαμβάνοντες. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἐκ φιλοσοφίας ἔφησεν αὐτῷ περιγεγονέναι τὸ μὴδὲν θαυμάζειν οὗτοι δὲ τὸ μὴδὲν ἐπαιεῖν μὴδὲ τιμᾶν, ἐν τῷ καταφρονεῖν† τιθέμενοι καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν ὑπεροψία διώκοντες. Bernardakis would emend the last clause by transposing καὶ, thus, ἐν τῷ καταφρονεῖν τιθέμενοι τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ ὑπεροψία διώκοντες. The corruption does not appear very probable, nor does the language as emended sound to me very much like Plutarch. I should read ἐν τῷ καταφρονεῖν <τὸ φρονεῖν> τιθέμενοι καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν ὑπεροψία διώκοντες.

Mor. 160 F (The dolphins bearing Arion are approaching the coast.) πόρρωθεν ἀφεωρᾶτο φρίκη κατιούσα παρὰ τὴν ἄκραν, ἀφρόν τινα καὶ ψόφον ἄγουσα τῷ ῥοθίῳ περὶ αὐτὴν πολύν, ὥστε πάντας ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον οἱ † προσέμελλε καταδραμεῖν θαυμάσαντας. The correction προσβάλλειν ἔμελλε lacks neatness. I should prefer προσέκελλε.

Mor. 221 C Ἡρώνας, Ἀθήνησιν ἀλόντος τινὸς γραφὴν ἀργίας, παρὼν καὶ πυθόμενος ἐκέλευσεν ἐπιδεῖξαι αὐτῷ τὸν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν δίκην ἡττηθέντα. Read τὴν ἐλευθερίας δίκην. He was charged with being a 'gentleman' (at least to the extent of living a free life).

Mor. 223 E σοφιστοῦ δὲ τινος περὶ ἀνδρείας λέγοντος, πλείω ἐγέλασε. Read πλατὺ ἐγέλασε.

Mor. 233 D ἐπαινοῦντός τινος τοὺς ἀρίστους μαχητάς, Λάκων εἶπεν 'ἐν Τροίᾳ'.
Read ἐπαινοῦντός τινος τοὺς <Ἀργείους ὡς ὄντας> ἀρίστους κ.τ.λ.

Mor. 234 D Σπαρτιάτης ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ ἀσφαλὴς ἢ εἰς Σπάρτην ὁδὸς εἶπεν
'ὅποιός καθίσῃς' οἱ μὲν γὰρ λέοντες βαδίζοντι ὅπα κα λέωντι, τὼς δὲ λαγῶς ἐπὶ
τᾷ σκηνᾷ θηρεύομες'. Read ὅποιός κά τις ἦς and ἐπὶ τᾷς κηνᾷς (i.e. κενῆς).
'That depends upon the sort of man you are; for lions walk where they
choose, but for hares we hunt upon empty (i.e. no man's) land (i.e. you will
only find them there, they dare not venture anywhere else).

Mor. 241 C A Spartan mother lost her son in battle, and when an old
woman condoled with her, exclaiming ὦ γύναι, τᾷς τύχας, she replied νῆ τὸ
σιώ, ἀλλὰ τᾷς καλᾷς γε· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ὦν ἔνεκεν ἔτεκον, ἢ ὑπὲρ τᾷς Σπάρτας
ἀποθάνῃ, τοῦτό μοι συνέβη. Bernardakis should not have altered ὦν to οὔ. The
correct form, as shown by the corruption also, is ὦ. Read also ναὶ τὸ σιώ,
γα, and συνέβα.

Mor. 335 B Λυσίππου δὲ τὸν †πρῶτον Ἀλέξανδρον πλάσαντος, ἄνω βλέποντα
κ.τ.λ. Bernardakis notes 'πρῶτον del. Abreschius'. A simple solution, but
scarcely satisfactory. Read τὸν κριωτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον (i.e. Alexander 'with
the ram's horns').

Mor. 616 F (Of the abolition of precedence at a banquet.) εἰ δὲ περὶ
τᾶλλα τὴν ἰσότητα τοῖς ἀνδράσι φυλάξομεν, τί οὐκ ἐντεῦθεν ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτον
ἐθίζομεν ἀτύφως καὶ ἀφελῶς κατακλίνεσθαι μετ' ἀλλήλων, εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν θυρῶν
ὀρῶντας, ὅτι †δημόκριτος ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ οὐκ ἐξαίρετον ὡς . . . πόλιν†, ἐφ'
οὔ κατακλιθεὶς ὁ πλούσιος †ἐν τῇ κατακλίσει τοῖς εὐτελεστάτοις; This very
corrupt passage can, I think, be emended with more certainty than most
others. For δημόκριτος Turnebus gave δημοκρατικῶς, which, however, is less
near than δημοτικῶς. For ἐπὶ read ἔξει (i.e. ἐξι). ἐφ' οὔ (cf. 619 B)
shows that τόπον was in the sentence (cf. 619 E τοῦτον ἐξαίρετον ἔξει τὸν
τόπον). For ἐν τῇ κατακλίσει (which is in any case intolerable after κατακλιθεὶς)
read ἐγκαταχλιδήσει. Since the superlative and comparative compendia
are constantly confused we need feel no scruple in restoring εὐτελεστέροις.
The passage may now read εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν θυρῶν ὀρῶντας, ὅτι δημοτικῶς
ἔξει τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ οὐκ ἐξαίρετον δῶς <εἰ τις> τόπον, ἐφ' οὔ κατακλιθεὶς ὁ
πλούσιος ἐγκαταχλιδήσει τοῖς εὐτελεστέροις.

Mor. 645 A καὶ Ὅμηρος εἰπών

οὐδὲ τραπέζῃ

γνώτην ἀλλήλων

δῆλός ἐστιν εἰδὼς τὸ νον τοῦ οἴνου καὶ †πολλῶν
γόνιμον. The first lacuna is of 12 or 13 letters, the second of 5 or 6. Read
δῆλός ἐστιν εἰδὼς τὸ <παρρησιαζόμε> νον τοῦ οἴνου καὶ <λαλιῶν> ἀπλῶν
γόνιμον.

Mor. 718 A οὐδὲν οἶομαι δεινόν, εἰ μὴ πλησιάζων ὁ θεός, ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐτέραις τισὶν ἀφαῖς δι' ἐτέρων καὶ ψάυσεσι † τρέπει καὶ ὑποπίμπλησι θειοτέρας γονῆς τὸ θνητόν. Probably περιέπει.

Mor. 752 D 'Λέγω τοίνυν' ὁ Πεισίας ἔφη 'προκηρύξας ἐμοῦ γ' ἔνεκα πάσαις γυναιξὶν † ἂν ἐραστήν, ὅτι τῆς γυναικὸς ὁ πλουτός ἐστι φυλακτέος τῷ νεανίσκῳ. Bernardakis remarks 'quid lateat, incertum'. Surely ἀνεραστίαν, cf. ἀνέραστος *supra*. For his part Peisias makes proclamation of that attitude towards women.

Mor. 865 B ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦ πιθανοῦ τῆς διαβολῆς ἐφρόντισεν, οὐδ' ὅπως αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ τάναντία λέγων † παρ' ὀλίγους ἀνθρώπους οὐ φανέεται συνειδώς. Read . . . τάναντία λέγων παραλόγως ἀνοήτως . . . The corruption to παρ' ὀλίγους made that of ἀνοήτως almost inevitable.

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NOTES ON THE PHILOSTRATI.

FOR the following notes, which are mainly on the *Life of Apollonius*, I have taken Kayser's Teubner text (1870) as the foundation, and my references are to the Olearius paging in his margin.

2 ἐπήσκητο.

There is no reason for the pluperfect. The tense should be imperfect, ἐπῆσκειτο, like those before and after.

7 (end) προῖων δ' ἐς ἡλικίαν ἐν ᾗ γράμματα.

Some verb, e.g. ἐμάνθανε, seems missing in the relative clause.

9 Birds can be trained to say χαῖρε etc. οὔτε εἰδότες ὅτι λέγουσιν οὔτε διακείμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

One would think that an adverb must have gone with διακείμενοι. It might be something significant, like φιλικῶς, or something slight and neutral, like πως, which would easily fall out before πρὸς.

10 ποιεῖται and ἀμπίσχεται ought, I think, to be imperfects. They have imperfects all about them, and such historical presents do not seem to occur in the text, or to be suitable.

17 αὐτόν γε μὴν τὸν χρόνον ἀγῆρω τε καὶ ἀθάνατον παρὰ τῆς μνημοσύνης εἶναι. Evidently παρὰ τὴν μνημοσύνην *by reason of memory*.

ibid. ἂν πρὸς ἄνδρα ἴδωσιν, ἐρυνθριῶσι.

Not if they see a man, that is, any man; but only if he is a *vir pietate gravis*. Some adjective is missing, or perhaps disguised in πρὸς. πρεσβύτερον?

27 πάλαι γάρ σε ἠκούομεν.

Read ἀκούομεν.

54 Some points of physical science may perhaps be studied best on mountains, but neither Athos nor Olympus will help you in moral and theological questions, εἰ μὴ διορφή αὐτὰ ἡ ψυχὴ, ἣν εἰ καθαρὰ καὶ ἀκήρατος αὐτῶν ἄπτοιτο πολλῶ μεῖζον ἔγωγ' ἂν φαίην ἄττειν τουτουὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου.

The general meaning must be that the mind will go further, higher, than any mountain. ἄττειν, used of rapid motion, the swiftness of thought, is no doubt right enough, though its implied application to the Caucasus rising into the air is a little strange. But ought not μεῖζον to be μᾶσσον, *further* or *higher*,

not *greater*? I have suggested a similar change in Xen. *Mem.* 4. 7. 10, and the confusion of μάλλον, μᾶσσον, and μέγιστος, μήκιστος occurs, I think, elsewhere.

66 (end) ἔοικας . . . μεταγράφειν τὸ ἱαμβεῖον.

Perhaps μεταγράφειν.

79 (end) ἐπειδὴν ἐς τοῦ βασιλέως πίνωσιν.

ἐν for ἐς?

81 πόθεν οὕτως ἔχεις φωνῆς Ἑλλάδος;

This may be right, but it looks as though an adverb governing the genitive, e.g. ἐμπίρως, was lost.

83 (end) πλειόνων δὲ ἢ ἐγὼ ἄρχει καὶ εὐδαίμων ἢ χώρα παρὰ πολὺ τῆς ἐνταῦθα. εὐδαιμονεστέρα or εὐδαίμων <μάλλον> is required. παρὰ πολὺ is only *by much*, and has not in itself any comparative force.

96 οὗτ' <ἂν> νοσῆσαι . . . οὗτ' ἂν τρωθεῖς ἀλγῆσαι.

104 νομίζειν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἥθεσι.

Read ἥθεσι. So in 172 we ought perhaps to read ἀδικῶν περὶ τὰ ἔθνη, but that is less clear.

105 εἶδον . . . οἰκοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτῆς καὶ ἀτειχίστως τετειχισμένους καὶ οὐδὲν κεκτημένους ἢ τὰ πάντων.

A remarkably clear case, though the editors strangely fail to see it, of ἢ substituted by confusion for καί. The contradictions must of course be carried on by οὐδὲν κεκτημένους καὶ τὰ πάντων. The same sentence, εἶδον κ.τ.λ. occurs with the same uncorrected blunder in 245. Yet in 106 we have the true sense and antithesis given in the phrase τὸ δὲ μηδὲν κεκτημένους τὰ πάντων ἔχειν ὧδε ὁ Δάμις ἐξηγεῖται κ.τ.λ. Through similar corruption and want of perception we have in 194 τὸ τετμήσεσθαι τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἢ οὐ τετμήσεσθαι, in spite of 163 τὸ τὸν Ἰ. τετμήσεσθαι καὶ οὐ τετμήσεσθαι, and of 162 οὗτος ὁ αὐχὴν τῆς γῆς τετμήσεται, μάλλον δὲ οὐ.

With these examples before us we need not hesitate much in reading καὶ γάρ for ἢ γάρ in 6.

110 τίνα θαυμασιώτερον ἡγή τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν τε καὶ ὑπὲρ Τροίας ἐλθόντων; ἐγὼ, ἔφη, Ἀχιλλέα.

We should read no doubt τίνα θαυμασιώτατον. In 241, on the contrary, οὗτε ξυμβούλους ὑμᾶς βίου ποιησόμενος ἤκω . . . πρεσβύτατός τε ὑμῶν . . . ἀφιγμένος αὐτὸς ἂν μάλλον εἰκότως ξυμβούλεον ὑμῖν, it is equally clear that we need πρεσβύτερος.

111 φάσμα . . . προϊόντας αὐτοὺς ἤλανεν ἐνταραττόμενον τῷ ὁμίλῳ.

There is no meaning in ἐνταραττόμενον. ἐνταττόμενον τῷ ὁμίλῳ *appearing in the ranks*? In Plato *Laus* 797 E ταχθέντα is a variant for παραχθέντα.

ibid. τὸ δὲ πορθεῖν πόλεις ὅστις εὐκλεέστερον ἡγείται τοῦ ἀνοικίξειν πόλιν οὐκ ἔστι.

It is difficult to believe that, according to the writer, no one (οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις) thought this. It has always been the idea of the mass of men. Is some predicate to οὐκ ἔστι lost? A dozen might be suggested.

115 καὶ λαμπρύνοντες αὐτοὺς ἐπαίνους οἷςπερ τὰ ἀνδράποδα ζηλωτοὺς πέμπετε. Perhaps οἷςπερ, or <τοῖς αὐτοῖς> (lost after αὐτοὺς) ἐπαίνους οἷςπερ.

116 οὓς ἐβουλόμην ἂν μᾶλλον λίμνην αὐτῷ περιβλῦσαι <ποιῆσαι> νέκταρος? περιβλύω is intransitive.

118 (end) ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς ἄνδρας ἐξαλλάττεται ἥδη (*are growing a man*), φειδώμεθα τῶν ἀνοήτων καὶ εὐκόλων.

εὐκόλων is mere nonsense in this context. Probably εὐτελῶν. Menander has ἐγὼ δ' ἀνόητος εὐτελής ὑπερβολῇ (M. 4. 266: K. 3. 185).

119 (init.) ἐμοὶ δῆ, not δέ.

140 ἐφοίτων . . . ξένον τε αὐτὸν ἡγούμενοι καὶ βίου ξύμβουλον βωμῶν τε ιδρύσεως καὶ ἀγαλμάτων. By a mistake which is found elsewhere (cf. a suggestion of mine on Herod. 6. 52) ἡγούμενοι has been written, I should say, for ποιούμενοι. Cf. 147 ἰατρὸν ποιούμενοι αὐτὸν τοῦ πάθους: 171 ξένον τε παρὰ τῷ Διὶ ἐποιοῦντο . . . βίου τε νομοθέτην: 178 ἡγεμόνας αὐτοὺς ποιεῖσθαι. The word ἡγούμενοι is even less appropriate to καὶ . . . ἀγαλμάτων than to ξένον.

142 ἀσωτίαν καὶ τρυφήν can hardly be predicates of ἐκείνον. An infinitive to govern them is missing.

145 He said a beautiful city was like the Zeus of Phidias, καθῆσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸ (the statue)—οὕτως τῷ δημιουργῷ ἔδοξε τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας ἐπὶ πάντα ἥκοντας μηδὲν ἀπεοικέναι τοῦ Ὀμηρίου Διός, ὃς κ.τ.λ.

The point is the fixity and immobility of the one, the freedom and movement of the other. But οὕτως . . . ἔδοξε gives poor sense, and the words are hardly grammatical, for ἔδοξε should be δόξαι. Both faults are cured together, if we add ὥς after the last letters of οὕτως and read καθῆσθαι γὰρ οὕτως <ὥς> τῷ δημιουργῷ ἔδοξε.

146 (end) ἡ περὶ αὐτοῖς (not αὐτοῖς) εὐβουλία.

148 (end) τόν τε Φοῖνικα τροφέα καὶ ὀπαδὸν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τιμῶν ἐνόμιζεν.

Kayser τιμῶν ἐνόμιζεν, which I have difficulty in translating. It is pretty clear that τιμῶν ὠνόμαζεν is what Philostratus wrote. The parts of νομίζω and ὀνομάζω are, it is well known, often confused.

163 (init.) Write δέ for τε after κομίζονται.

169 κρινεῖσθαι, not κρίνεσθαι.

171 ναὶ τὼ σιώ, ἔφη.

Is ἔφη for ἔφη τις(?) right?

189 δοκῶ μοι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐπεσκέφθαι τὸ ὄν.

μοι is meaningless here, and should perhaps be μέν. πιστοῦται δὲ κ.τ.λ. will then correspond to it. If, as appears to be the case, πιστοῦται is the writer's own addition (otherwise we should have πιστοῦσθαι and ἀπολείπειν), ξυμβαίνοι must be read for ξυμβαίνειν.

193 Nero performing in Greece λεαίνων τὴν φωνὴν καὶ δεδιὼς τὸν Ἡλείον ἢ τὸν Δελφόν, ἢ μὴ δεδιὼς μέν, κακῶς δὲ οὕτως ὑποκρινόμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τέχνην ὡς μὴ μαστιγώσεσθαι νομίζειν πρὸς τούτων ὦν αὐτὸς ἄρχειν τέτακται.

(Cf. the picture in Suetonius *Nero* 24 *pravidus et metuens ne ob delictum certamine summo veretur*.)

The words ὡς μὴ μ. ν. seem to give the very opposite sense to what we naturally look for, 'so badly as *not* to be scourged.' Can a ὅσον have dropped out, ὡς <ὅσον> μὴ μ. ν., 'so badly as just to escape a scourging'? I have also thought of μεμαστιγώσεσθαι, but the sense would be odd.

Immediately afterwards τοῖς δὲ Ἑλλήσι τίνα (= πότερον) ἡγῆ, ὦ Μένιππε; πότερα Ξέρξην καταπιμπράντα ἢ Νέρωνα ἄδοντα; seems to lack a predicative word or phrase to go with τίνα ἡγῆ, e.g. φοβερότερον, or πλείω παρέχειν πράγματα.

197 A word or words also lost with τρεῖς Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορες, which is again subject without predicate. So in 206 οὐ πάντες is incomplete.

198 ἔστι τι μυθολογία; Νῆ Δί', εἶπεν ὁ Μένιππος, ἦν γε οἱ ποιηταὶ ἐπαινοῦσι.

Perhaps ἐπασκοῦσι. Cf. 1 above and also 3 σοφίας ἦν . . . ἐπήσκησεν. ἐπαινοῦσι is senseless.

214 ὡς ὑπὸ γυναιῶν ἡττηθεὶς ἐπελάθετο <οὐ μόνον> τοῦ ἄρχειν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ξῆν?

216 (end) βελτίων ἂν ἦν should be β. ἂν ἦσθα.

241 ἐν Πυθαγόρου. Surely Πυθαγόρα, unless anything is omitted.

251 ἐπεὶ δὲ πιθανὸς ὑμῖν ἔδοξε τοῦμὸν διαβάλλειν ἦθος. πιθανῶς or διαβάλλων.

274 (end) 'ἐγὼ δέ . . . οὐπω ἔγνων οὐρανοῦ προγενεστέρους ἀστέρας,' διδάσκων ὅτι μὴδ' ἂν γένοιτό τι τοῦ ἐν ᾧ φύεται μὴ ὄντος. Read φύσεται.

ibid. καθιέντος ἐς αὐτοὺς ὑποψίας, ὑφ' ὧν διειστήκεσαν ἐκκλησιαζομένη πόλεις.

The last words, as they stand, are unintelligible. But the last letters of the verb suggest a remedy. Should it not run διειστήκεσαν <ὡς ἂν> ἐ. πόλεις?

287 (init.) ἐδίδαξαν ὑμᾶς φάδην Μοῦσαι μήπω ἐς δίκας ἢ διαβολὰς ὑπαχθεῖσαν. Read ὑπαχθεῖσαι.

288 ὁ μὴδέ should be ὁ μὴδέ.

310 αὐτοῦ τε γὰρ τοῦ σχήματος <ἐνεκα>? ἀπεβλέπετο . . . καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἦκειν ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν κινδυνεύσοντα καὶ τοὺς βασκαίνοντας αὐτῷ πρότερον ἐπιτηδείους ἐποίει.

ἀνδρῶν can hardly be right. Either add something to it or read ἄλλων.

In Plut. *Mor.* 603 B ἄλλων is a mistake for the Homeric ἀνδρῶν.

323 Σωκράτην . . . ὅτε ἔφυγε τὴν γραφήν. Read ἔφευγε. ἔφυγε would mean *was acquitted*. So in *Heroicus* 660 read γραφὴν ἐκεῖ ἂν τις, οἶμαι, φεύγοι (not φύγοι) μὴ τρυφῶν.

324 ἤδη μέτρει, βασιλεῦ, ὕδωρ· εἰ γὰρ ξυγχωρήσεις αὐτῷ μῆκος λόγων, ἀπάγξει ἡμᾶς.

Cobet θέλξει for ἀπάγξει, but the words are very unlike. By the omission of one letter we can get ἀπάξει, which seems suitable enough: e.g. cf. Dem. 19. 242 εἰάν ὑμᾶς ἀπαγάγη τῷ λόγῳ and τοὺς δικαστὰς ἀπαγαγὼν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως. In Plut. *Demetr.* 5 πορθεῖν Συρίαν καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀπάγειν καὶ βιάζεσθαι. Madvig's ἀπάγχειν may be right.

328 ὥς μὴ τὸ εὐθὺ ἐχούσης. Rather ἐξούσης.

359 (end) ἀκροάσασθαι should be ἀκροάσεσθαι. So too 312 (end).

I add a very few notes on the other writings.

LIVES OF SOPHISTS.

479 πατέρας δὲ οὐ προσέγραψα, μὰ Δί', οὐ πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀπ' εὐδοκίμων. Punctuate μὰ Δί' οὐ, πᾶσιν. Otherwise οὐ could not well be repeated.

ibid. οἶδα γὰρ δὴ καὶ Κριτίαν τὸν σοφιστὴν οὐκ ἐκ πατέρων <ἀρξάμενον>, ἀλλ' Ὀμήρου δὴ μόνον σὺν τῷ πατρὶ ἐπιμνησθέντα?

500 καὶ οἱ τύραννοι δὲ αἰρετώτεροι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἀνειμένοι μᾶλλον ἢ ξυντείνοντες· εἰ γὰρ ἀνήσουσιν, ἦττον μὲν ἀποκτενοῦσιν, ἦττον δὲ δράσονται τε καὶ ἀρπάσσονται.

δράσονται is a *vox nihili*. Perhaps it represents διασπάσσονται, ρ and ι being exchanged, as often, and the repetition of ασ leading to loss. But I am not quite sure that διασπᾶν gives a good meaning here, for its sense is not *plunder* but *rend in pieces, divide*, etc. If we could run the two futures into one and read διαρπάσσονται, we should get a quite appropriate word.

ἀνειμένοι ought, I think, to be ἀνιέμενοι, matching ξυντείνοντες. The two forms are often confused. Thus in Clem. Alex. *Paedagog.* 3. 11. 74 it should be ἀνειμένα (not ἀνιέμενα) τὰ τοῦ σώματος μέλη, to match the perfects καθειμένῃ etc. preceding.

576 (end) Ἑλλησπόντῳ γῆν ὀλίγην ἐπιβαλὼν ταύτην οἶε σοι μένειν. Obviously μενεῖν.

580 (init.) ἀξιοῦντα κατηγορεῖν τοῦ μὲν Δημοσθένους Μηδισμοῦ, τοῦ δὲ Αἰσχίνου Φιλιππισμοῦ.

Read Μηδισμόν . . . Φιλιππισμόν. So in *Letter* 40 κατηγορεῖ δὲ καὶ γῆρας τοῦ προσώπου.

603 ἐκτῆσατο δὲ καὶ οἰκίας, δύο μὲν ἐν ἄστει, μίαν δὲ ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ ἄλλην Ἐλευσίνι.

Before the δ of δύο I suspect another δ' = τέτταρας has been lost. So in 510 λόγοι δ' Αἰσχίνου κατ' ἐνίους μὲν καὶ τέταρτος it has been pointed out that we have to add a γ = τρεῖς (λόγοι δ' Αἰσχίνου γ' κατ' ἐνίους μὲν καὶ τέταρτος).

605 μὴ ἀπεῖναι τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοὺς θεραπεύοντας.

Read θεραπεύσοντας, comparing 703 ἔρημον τῶν θεραπευσόντων, 716 ὅτι μὴ πέπασαι τὸν θεραπεύσοντα, etc. The future is regular.

This makes the fifth correction of present to future in these few notes. No error is commoner.

HEROICVS.

662 Add ἄν to καὶ κάρνα δοῖν καὶ μῆλα δοῖν. Possibly καὶ κάρνα δ' ἄν καὶ μ. δ., for the repetition of δοῖν seems to lack point.

682 (end) περὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Πάριδος οὐδ' ἀκούειν ἄξιῳ οὐδέν . . . , περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἑκτορος . . . οὐκ ἂν ἐροίμην γέ τι οὐδ' ἂν ἀκούσαιμι χαίρων, εἰ μὴ διαπηδῶς αὐτὰ μῆδ' ἀμελῶς λέγοις.

εἰ μὴ κ.τ.λ. is quite absurd. 'I should not care to listen, unless you went very fast and carelessly.' Of course we want the opposite, not *unless* but *if*. It would be awkward to double the μὴ (εἰ μὴ <μὴ> διαπηδῶς), and therefore <πλὴν> εἰ μὴ seems not unlikely, or εἰ μὴ <μήτε> . . . μήτε . . .

It is not a bad instance of the carelessness with which editors follow one another that both Kayser (1870) and Westermann (Didot 1878) give these words quite erroneously as a question. The mistake was probably made in some earlier text, which they reproduce.

705 (end) δίδωσιν ὑμῖν ξυμμάχους ἑκατὸν πόλεις καὶ ὡς τὴν Τροίαν ἐλεῖν παίζοντας. καί is unmeaning. It is sometimes confused with ὡς, and has perhaps here been repeated from it by accident: that is, one compendium has been interpreted twice over, once as καί and again as ὡς. The alternative is to suppose an omission, e.g. καὶ <τοιούτους> ὡς. Cf. a little below: τοιοῦτοί ἐσμεν . . . οἷοι Τροίαν μὲν ἐσπουδακότες λαβεῖν, Κρήτην δὲ παίζοντες.

722 τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν Ἰλίῳ νέον τὸν Ἑκτορα καὶ μεираκιώδη φέρει. Probably φαίνει. *Sexcenties in φέρειν et φαίνειν scribae turbant et titubant*, says Cobet (D. Hal. p. 112).

726 δεθῆναι δ' αὖ should probably be δεθῆναι δ' ἄν, though the mistake is oftener the other way, ἄν for αὖ. But cf. for instance Thuc. 6. 91. 2, where M has ὁμως δ' αὖ for ὁμως δ' ἄν.

In the remarks on epistolary style appended to the letters read at end of p. 364 ἵνα τούτῳ γοῦν ἡ βραχυλογία ὠραΐζουτο ἐς ἄλλην ἡχὼ πάσαν (for πᾶσα) στενή οὔσα.

H. RICHARDS.

AD MARCVM ANTONINVM.

M. Antoninus Imperator ad se ipsum recogn. I. H. LEOPOLD, Oxonii (Scriptorum Classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis).

B, ιε'. "Οτι πάν ὑπόληψις.

Fieri potest ut ita scripserit Marcus, suspiceris tamen πάνθ'. Cf. IB, η' (=IB, κβ'): "Οτι πάντα ὑπόληψις, IB, κς': ὅτι πάνθ' ὑπόληψις.

B, ις'. 'Υβρίζει εαυτήν ἢ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ μάλιστα μέν, ὅταν ἀπόστημα—γένηται· ἔπειτα δέ, ὅταν ἄνθρωπὸν τινα ἀποστραφῇ ἢ καὶ ἐναντία φέρεται—. τρίτον ὑβρίζει εαυτήν, ὅταν ἡσῶται ἡδονῆς ἢ πόνου. τέταρτον, ὅταν ὑποκρίνηται καὶ ἐπιπλάστως καὶ ἀναλίσθως τι ποιῇ ἢ λέγῃ. πέμπτον, ὅταν πρᾶξιν τινα εαυτῆς καὶ ὁρμὴν ἐπ' οὐδένα σκοπὸν ἀφίῃ, ἀλλ' εἰκῇ καὶ ἀπαρακολουθήτως ὁτιοῦν ἐνεργῇ κτέ.

Vix dubium est quin scribendum sit γίνηται et ἀποστρέφῃ.

Z, ιζ'. Εὐδαιμονία ἐστὶ δαίμων ἀγαθὸς ἢ <ἡγεμονικόν> ἀγαθόν.

Lacunam manifestam haud inepte suppleuit Gataker, malim tamen ut in commentariis tam aliorum philosophorum quam Heracliti memoria plenissimis δαίμων ἀγαθὸς ἢ <ἦθος> ἀγαθόν. Cf. Heracl. fragm. 119 (Diels *Vorsokratiker* i² p. 78): ἦθος ἀνθρώπων δαίμων.

I, ιβ'. Τίς ὑπονοίας χρεῖα παρὸν σκοπεῖν τί δεῖ πραχθῆναι, κἂν μὲν σὺνορᾶς, εὐμενῶς, ἀμεταστρεπτὶ ταύτῃ χωρεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ συνορᾶς, ἐπέχειν καὶ συμβούλοις τοῖς ἀρίστοις χρῆσθαι· ἐὰν δὲ ἑτέρα τινα πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιβαίνει, προιέναι κατὰ τὰς παρούσας ἀφορμὰς λελογισμένως, ἐχόμενον τοῦ φαινομένου δικαίου; ἄριστον γὰρ κατατυγχάνειν τούτου, ἐπεὶ τοι ἢ γε ἀπόπτωσις ἀπὸ τούτου ἐστίν.

Verba ἄριστον—τούτου recte interpretatus esse uidetur Gataker 'hoc enim assequi, ut iuste agas, optimum est', quae sequuntur ἐπεὶ τοι ἢ γε ἀπόπτωσις ἀπὸ τούτου ἐστίν (sic Boot pro ἔστω, cf. B, γ': δόγματα ἔστω Richards pro ἐστίν) sensu cassa sunt, qui tamen restitui mihi uidetur si legimus ἀπροπτωσία i.e. absentia temeritatis in adnuendo (ἐν συγκαταθέσει) et consequenter in agendo, quae uirtus ab iustitia est (ἀπὸ τούτου), cf. IA, ι': ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης (τῆς δικαιοσύνης) αἱ λοιπαὶ ἀρεταὶ ὑφίστανται· οὐ γὰρ τηρηθήσεται τὸ δίκαιον, ἐὰν ἤτοι διαφερώμεθα πρὸς τὰ μέσα ἢ εὐεξαπάτητοι καὶ προπτωτικοὶ καὶ μεταπτωτικοὶ ὦμεν, neque aliunde paratur sed posita est in τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ τοῦ λογικοῦ ξύφου κατασκευῇ, αὕτη δὲ ἐπαγγέλλεται ἀπροπτωσίαν (Γ, θ'), cf. Z, νε': ἐν τῇ λογικῇ κατασκευῇ τὸ ἀπρόπτωτον. Itaque si habes in te ipso quo omnem scrupulum ex animo euellas, τίς ὑπονοίας χρεῖα; ubi ὑπονοίαν bene uertit Jackson 'timidity and suspicion'.

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NOTES ON PLATO *LAWS* I.-VI.

IN reading the last six books of Plato's *Laws* in Prof. Burnet's excellent edition I notice some passages the corruptions in which seem to me to be due to that very common fault of copyists, false change of case usually due to the preceding word or words.

791 c ἐν δὴ καὶ τοῦτο εἰς ψυχῆς μόριον ἀρετῆς should be ἐν δὴ καὶ τοῦτο εἰς ψυχῆς μόριον ἀρετὴν (cf. 807 c, where Ast's ἀρετὴν is certainly a right correction).

802 d τό γε τῆς ἡδονῆς ἢ ἀηδίας περὶ ἐκατέρας οὐδὲν πεπλεονέκτηκεν should, I think, be τό γε τῆς ἡδονῆς ἢ ἀηδίας πέρι ἐκατέρα οὐδὲν πεπλ.

814 a I should correct this εἰ μὴδενὸς ἔνεκα, ἀλλ' εἴ ποτε δεήσειε πανδημεὶ πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει καταλείποντας τὴν πόλιν ἔξω στρατεῦσθαι τοὺς φυλάξαντας παίδας τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν, ἵκανὰς εἶναι τό γε τοσοῦτον.

The women are to be trained in arms if for no other reason for this, that in the event of the whole male population, who while in the city guarded their children and all else, being compelled to take the field, the women may be good for so much at least, i.e. for garrisoning the city. ἵκανὰς has been falsely attracted into the case of τοὺς φυλάξαντας.

815 a The whole sentence as far as μιμεῖσθαι refers to the pyrrhic dance, and I think we should restore ἐπιχειροῦσαν μιμεῖσθαι. A false semblance of grammar has been produced by changing ἐπιχειροῦσαν to the case of τὰς ταύταις ἐναντίας. What is ταύταις? It is ταῖς εὐλαβείαις. What are the things which are αἱ ἐνάντιαι to the εὐλάβειαι?—certainly not ὀρχήσεις, as we must understand if we retain ἐπιχειρούσας, and of course not εὐλάβειαι, as in strictness we should understand if we write ἐπιχειροῦσαν. I think the word to be mentally supplied from what precedes is κινήσεις.

942 d καὶ δὴ καὶ χορείας πάσας εἰς τὰς ἀριστείας τὰς κατὰ πόλεμον βλέποντας χορεύειν. βλέποντας was wrongly attracted to the case of χορείας.

960 c 7 sq. I suggest as a restoration of this passage τὸ Λάχεσιν μὲν τὴν πρώτην εἶναι, Κλωθῶ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν, τὴν Ἀτροπον δὴ τρίτην σώτειραν τῶν ληχθέντων (with Bekker) ἀπηκασμένα πη τῶν κλωσθέντων τῷ πῆναι τὴν ἀμετάστροφον ἀπεργαζομένην δύναμιν. The change of ἀπεργαζομένων to the acc. sing. seems quite necessary, as it is Atropos who makes her sisters'

work ἀμετάστροφον. The word was falsely attracted to the case of τῶν λεχθέντων. Atropos makes the ληχθέντα similar in a way to the reel or spool on which the spun thread is wound as regards their virtue of irreversibility. The πῆνος is irreversible in this sense that to get the thread off it you can only turn it in one direction.

967 d 1 τοὺς φιλοσοφούντας κυσὶ ματαίαις ἀπεικάζοντας χρωμέναισιν ὕλακαῖς. Surely philosophers were never compared to dogs of this sex, and we should restore the masculine gender changed by a copyist who understood ματαίαις to go with κυσί.

In all these instances there is an obvious motive which may have prompted a copyist to change the case of a word, and the justification of the corrections I propose lies in this. Owing to the great grammatical freedom of the style I would never propose to change a case where no such motive can be discerned.

I add a few suggestions about other passages.

802 d 1 ἀκούων ἀεὶ τῆς ἐναντίας?

828 c 7 καὶ τί τῶν τούτοις?

836 a 4/5 ἡ τῶν ἀρχόντων ὄψις διηναγκασμένη μὴ ἀποβλέπειν ἄλλοσε, τηρεῖν δ' αἰεὶ τοὺς νέους πάντως. The MS. text τοὺς νέους τ' αὐτούς is certainly corrupt. The change I suggest is not very violent. πάντως would mean 'at any cost.'

841 b 2 sq. τὸ δὴ λανθάνειν τούτων δρῶντά τι καλὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔστω . . . , τὸ δὲ μὴ λανθάνειν αἰσχρὸν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ μὴ πάντως δρᾶν.

'It is to be regarded as good to do such things without being found out, but to be found out is to be regarded as a disgrace,' but then I cannot understand ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ μὴ πάντως δρᾶν, which can only mean, 'but not to do it at all is not to be regarded as a disgrace.' There has been no suggestion at all that continence could be regarded as disgraceful. Should we substitute φανερώς for πάντως?

848 a 5 The reading of A. ὅσαι χρεῖαι seems to me better. τινί refers to the producer and vendor.

849 b 8 We should write τρίτη δὲ εἰκάδι τῶν ζώων ἔστω πράσις.

855 a 8 ἂν ᾗ τί τῷ τοῦ κλήρου κατεσκευασμένου περισσεῦον. 'If anyone has anything over after his property has been cultivated.'

887 d 7 It will be found that this very long clause reads much better if we insert τε after σπουδῇ. It may easily have fallen out before τῇ. The same remedy may be applied 921 e 1, inserting τε before τιμάς.

934 a 4 AO have ἐν φόβοις δεινῶς. We should restore δειλοῖς. Cf. 870 c 8 οἱ δειλοὶ καὶ ἄδικοι φόβοι. He distinguishes fear which is cowardly from fear which is not. I don't think ἐν φόβοις δειλίας is a phrase he would have used, and it is ill supported.

935 d 2 For λοιδοροῦμεν read λοῖδορον μὲν. 'And this (ridicule) is λοῖδορον, when it is uttered in anger.' He then goes on with τί δὲ δῆ; to discuss the chaff of the comic poets which is not angry and not λοῖδορον.

936 c 8 Plato is obviously speaking of one man's slave injuring another man's slave; so we must write τὸν ἀλλότριον for τῶν ἀλλοτρίων. καὶ ὅτιοῦν means then, of course, 'in any way at all.'

947 d 7 λίθων ποτίμων.

This reading is of high antiquity. Photius and Suidas, quoting doubtless from some lexicon to Plato, try to explain it thus: μήποτε τῶν πύρων λέγει, οἱ πίνοντες τὸ ὕδωρ ἰσχυρόπροι γίνονται, ἢ τῶν τὴν σάρκα τῶν ἐντιθεμένων καταναλίσκόντων σωμάτων, while Pollux (ix. 49) and Suidas (s.v. ψαλίδα) have the bad conjecture πολυτίμων, based of course on ποτίμων. Before I was aware of these passages in the lexicographers, I had conjectured that Plato wrote λίθων πορίνων. Prof. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff considers it unlikely that such a well-known word as πορίνων should have been corrupted to ποτίμων. Prof. Burnet on the contrary is inclined to agree with me. There is no instance known to me of πότιμος or βρώσιμος bearing an active sense, βίδαχ or edach.

954 c 3 L has χρόνον δέ, and perhaps we should read χρόνον ὅδε.

964 a 8 ἢ τόν γε ὄντα τι. As my other suggestions have been, I trust, fairly discreet, I venture to offer a most audacious one to close with. Plato wrote ἢ τόν γ' ἐπαῖοντά τι. This became ἢ τόν γε, παῖ, ὄντα τι, and παῖ, taken to be the vocative of παῖς, was expelled as a horror. ἐπαῖοντα at any rate is quite the proper word here.

W. R. PATON.

ON AN INSCRIPTION TO MARS FOUND AT CAERWENT IN 1904.

THE inscribed stone, of which an illustration is here given, was found in a wall composed of large blocks, which had all formed part of some other construction. This wall, which had certainly formed no part of the original building, separated the eastern portion of House XI into two rooms numbered 5 and 6 in our plan. The text of the inscription as given by Dr. Ashby in the report published in *Archaeologia*¹ is as follows:

deo MARTI·LEN^o
sIVE OCEL^o·VELLAVN··NIMA^G
M·NONIVS·ROMANVS·OB
IMMVNITAT·COLLIGN
D D S D
GLABRIONE·ET H^o·MVLO·C·S·X·KSEPT

[Deo] Marti Leno [si]ve Ocelo Vellaun(o?) et num(ini) Aug(usti) M(arcus) Nonius Romanus ob immunitat(em) collign(i) d(onum) d(e) s(uo) d(edit) Glabrione et Homulo co(n) s(ulibus) (ante diem) x k(alendas) Sept(embres) [23 August, A.D. 152].

On the interpretation of this inscription, Dr. Ashby wrote (for his references, see *Archaeologia*):

'Lenus is a not uncommon name of Mars in Rhenish inscriptions, while Ocelus has been only found once, on an inscription from Carlisle. It is possible that the dedicator came from the Rhine, and that Ocelus is the British equivalent for Lenus. Vellaun(o) is a new epithet, but the meaning cannot be doubtful, the root being that of *duellum*, two or zwei, and recurring in the name of the Catuvellauni. The words *ob immunitatem collign.* give us more difficulty. The *immunitas* referred to is probably admission without payment of the monthly contribution or of the entrance fee usually exacted from members of a *collegium*; while *collign(ium)* must, probably, be recognised as a by-form of *collegium*: cf. *C.I.L.* vii. 1069, 1070, where the interpretation *col(umnam) lign(eam)* is difficult to accept, and is indeed rejected by Hirschfeld in commenting on *C.I.L.* xii. 22, where *collign(ium)* again occurs. If not, we must interpret *col(legi) lign(ariorum)*, though there is no trace of a stop between the two l's. The reference would then be to a guild of timber merchants. An interesting point is this, that beside the feet of Mars are those of a water bird. This may be either a goose or a swan.'

¹ See Vol. 59, p. 293.



BASE OF A STATUE OF MARS FOUND AT CAERWENT IN 1904.

The identity of the waterbird is discussed in a footnote which need not here be reproduced, but there are other points in this inscription of such interest that a somewhat fuller discussion than was possible in our report may not be out of place.

(i) In the first place if we accept the reading *collign(i)* as a by-form of *collegii*, it is possible that the *collegium* was that of the veterans of the Second Legion.

In Waltzing's list of colleges of veterans there are no instances of dedications to Mars, the only dedications to gods being to Jupiter, of which there are four,¹ but colleges of veterans sometimes bore the name of *Martenses*, or *Martiales*, or *Martis Cultores*.² In an inscription at Ravenna we have the *conuivio ueteranorum siue Martensium*,³ and we have at Augsburg a dedication to Mars and Victory by the *contubern | ium Marti(s) Cu | ltorum*.⁴

At Caerleon, the station of the Second Legion, we have an inscription⁵ to Marcus Aurelius by the *vete[rani] | et ho[norati] | leg(ionis) II. A[ug(ustae)]*.

Additional weight is given to this suggestion by the fact that this legion appears to have been recruited from the Rhine (this would give fresh significance to the identification of Mars and Lenus), and by the fact that we have already at Caerwent a fragment⁶ of stone which possibly bears the name of the legion, as well as of a tile⁷ on which the letters **AVG** seem undoubtedly to refer to this legion.

(ii) Dr. Ashby's suggestion that *collign* might represent *col(legi) lign(a-riorum)* appears to be highly improbable in view of the fact that the only inscriptions quoted by Waltzing in which this gild is mentioned appear to be two⁸ election inscriptions at Pompeii, in which the *lignarii* recommend or support their candidates.

The interpretation of *collign(ium) iuuenum | Nemesisiorum* in the inscription at Vence⁹ as *collegium lignariorum* is not, I believe, accepted by any one.

(iii) But thirdly, it may perhaps be permitted to suggest that neither of these two interpretations is the right one.

It may be admitted that the inscription just quoted proves, as Hirschfeld maintains, the existence of this by-form *collignium* for *collegium* on the continent, but the evidence afforded by the two inscriptions at Birrens, to which Hirschfeld refers, is by no means so certain.

The text of these two inscriptions is as follows:

*Deo Mercu | rio Iul. Cres | cens sigill | collign · cult | ores eius · d · s · d · |
u · s · l · m*.¹⁰

*Num · Aug | deo · Merc | sign · posu | erunt · cultores · colligni · eius | dem dei ·
cur | Ing · Rufo | u · s · l · m*.¹¹

Here Huebner follows Mommsen in interpreting *collign* as *col(umnam) lign(eam)* and *colligni* as *col(umnae) ligni(ae)*.

¹ *C.I.L.* v. 784, 2475; viii. 2618, 2626.

² Waltzing, *Corporations Professionnelles chez les Romains*, l. 199.

³ *C.I.L.* xi. 136. ⁴ *Ib.* iii. 5790. ⁵ *Ib.* vii. 105.

⁶ *Arch.* 57, p. 310.

⁷ *Ib.* 60, p. 124.

⁸ *C.I.L.* iv. 951 and 960.

⁹ *Ib.* xii. 22. ¹⁰ *Ib.* vii. 1069. ¹¹ *Ib.* vii. 1070.

In the first inscription, as I learn from a squeeze kindly sent me by Dr. Macdonald, there is not, as is given in the Corpus, a space between the two l's of *collign*.

This would support Hirschfeld's view, but on the other hand the 'wooden column' presents no real difficulty, and fits in not inaptly with the word '*sigillum*' and the rude country in which the inscription was found. Other instances of votive columns have been found at Makter in Africa, where the column bears a bas relief of Bacchus, and the inscription reads *Liberio Aug(usto) sac(rum). | In columna corpo(ris) . . . Liberum fundente(m) vinu(m) . . . f(ecit)*; ¹ in Cisalpine Gaul (. . . *columnasque mag(isterio) fi | li [sui et s]uo Meneruae d(onum) d(at)*); ² in Rome (*tabula(m) marmorea(m) cum proscaenio et columnis d(ono) d(edit)*).³ It is conceivable that the columns mentioned in the last may have a purely architectural significance, but in the *aram [cu]m (?) colu[mn]is et | cultu . . . dis | d. d.* also found at Rome,⁴ the columns would seem to be votive in character. These columns enumerated above would be of marble or stone—but the substitution of wood for stone in Britain creates no difficulty.

In view then of the uncertainty of assuming that our inscription reproduces this by-form *collignum*, may it not be permitted to suggest that the letters stand for *colleg(ium) N(autarum)*? The letter before the G is almost certainly E, as the middle bar is visible even in the photograph, and the close resemblance of the letter to the E of SEPT is obvious, but the reading of I will not of course affect this suggestion.

Against this suggestion it may be urged firstly that there is no stop or space between the two l's, while they are used otherwise throughout the inscription, and not somewhat casually as (*e.g.*) in xii. 1069 quoted above. But it will be observed that the mason has misjudged the space necessary for this line and the fact that he has left a space before the beginning of it has not allowed him to complete it symmetrically without leaving over an odd word or odd letters. Indeed he has only just been able to squeeze in the last letters at all, as is shown by the fact that the letter N is nearer to the moulding than the last letter of any other line.

The omission of the stop or of a space may therefore be considered as not of great importance and the interpretation may be discussed on its own merits. It is true of course that we have not as yet any mention of such a gild in Britain, our list of known gilds in this country including besides those of a religious character and that of the veterans' at Caerleon, only two trade gilds—that of the *fabri* at Chichester and the *fabricenses* at Bath (the latter of course being connected with a legion). But this objection will have no weight if the inherent probability of the interpretation can be established. In favour of it, it may be urged that numerous corporations of boatmen existed on all the chief waterways of the empire.

¹ Waltzing, vol. iii. No. 1396.

² C.I.L. v. 703.

³ *ib.* vi. 406.

⁴ Waltzing, vol. iii. No. 1318.

We have them in Gaul, on the Seine in the time of Tiberius, and on the Loire, the Rhone and the Arar. We have them on the Rhine, the Neckar, and the Moselle; in Switzerland on the Aar, the Durance, and the Isère; on the Maros in Dacia; on the Save and the lower Danube; in Spain at Seville on the Guadalquivir, where three different inscriptions are dated respectively A.D. 146, 145, and 161-169;¹ on the Italian lakes as well as on the Adriatic and the mouth of the Tiber. Space will not permit of references to all these corporations, but complete lists are given in Waltzing, vol. iv. These boatmen were known by various names, *nautae*, *lyntrarii*, *scapharii*, etc., while those who manned sea-going ships appear to have been more often styled *naicularii*, though the distinction is not always maintained. The N in our inscription would therefore stand for *Nautarum*, as in the inscriptions at Verona (*coll(egio) N(autarum)| V(eronensium) A(rilicae) consist(entium)*),² at Nîmes and elsewhere. These corporations were of great importance, not only for the supply of the capital, but also for the public service of the provinces. Reference to this will be again made below, but here it is necessary to state clearly that the position of Caerwent amply justifies and explains the existence of such a corporation in this city. It is the second station on the XIVth Iter of the so-called Antonine Itinerary, the road, which starting from *Isca Legionum* (Caerleon) led through Bath to Calleva. The third station is Abona. I have discussed the line followed by this route elsewhere,³ and tried to show that the crossing of the Severn was worked from the mouth of Caldicot Pill, some two miles below Caerwent, to the mouth of the Avon, *i.e.* to the junction of the Trim with this river. Whether this view, which has met with some acceptance, be right or not, the fact remains that Caerwent is the last station on the Welsh side of the Severn. It is therefore obviously the place which must have controlled the ferry and precisely the spot where a corporation of boatmen would have had their headquarters.

There is also a considerable amount of evidence⁴ to show that either Caldicot Pill or St. Pierre Pill was in ancient times a harbour of some importance, and it seems reasonable to infer that there was communication and traffic between this harbour and Glevum higher up the Severn. There would, in this case, have been ample work for a corporation of boatmen.

The dedication to Mars may present some difficulty in the acceptance of this view, but as a matter of fact there are in Waltzing's lists only ten dedications to this god. Of these two are by gilds of soldiers, three are by those of veterans, two are by members of trades gilds, the *dendrophori*, and the *negotiantes*, one is by a gild of slaves and freedmen, and in two the dedicators are uncertain.

There was a close contact between the corporations of *negotiatores* or *negotiantes* and those of the sailors, and though they formed quite distinct

¹ *C.I.L.* ii. 1168, 1169, 1180.

² *Ib.* v. 4017.

³ *Proc. of Clifton Antiq. Club*, vol. i. p. 58.

⁴ See 'The Ancient Harbours of Gwent Iscoed,' by J. G. Wood, *Trans. Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 1904, p. 191.

bodies they were constantly associated with each other, especially as regards the immunities which they enjoyed. At Delos we find τὸ κοινὸν Βηρυτίων Ποσειδονιαστῶν τῶν | ἐμπορίων καὶ ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐγδοκέων (warehousemen) erecting a statue of the goddess Rome:¹ and the ἔμποροι and ναύκληροι (*negotiantes* and *naucularii*) are again associated with each other in the letter written by certain Tyrians at Puteoli to the Senate at Tyre with regard to the maintenance of a *statio*.²

The dedication of the *negotiantes* referred to above is to Jupiter, Juno and Neptune as well as to Mars, so that even assuming a close connection between the gilds, it throws no great light on the question.

It would be interesting to know to what deities the corporations of boatmen and sailors were in the habit of making their dedications, but a somewhat careful search has only resulted in the discovery of the following: at Marbach *Gen(io) naut(arum)*;³ at Mantua to Hercules;⁴ at Ettlingen to Neptune;⁵ at Delos to *Roma*⁶ (see *supra*); at Lyons we have a base and no indication of the statue;⁷ and at Paris to Jupiter.⁸ The dedications at Ettlingen and Paris are of some interest, because in the former case the statue of Neptune is accompanied by a marine monster as well as by a dolphin, and it might be interesting to compare this with our waterbird, and in the latter case the Latin inscription (*Tib(erio) Caesare | Aug(usto) Joui optumo | Maxsumo (aram) | nautae Parisiac[i] | publice posierun[t]*) is accompanied by Celtic words, and there are also representations of what are presumably Celtic gods as well as what appears to be an identification of these with Roman gods. The four altars on which these are found are well illustrated in Desjardins, *Geog. de la Gaule Romaine*, vol. iii. pp. 261 sqq., and are discussed at length by Hirschfeld in the *Corpus*, and by Mowat, *Bull. Epigr. de la Gaule*, vol. i. (1881), pp. 49 sqq. Mowat's illustrations are less good.

The evidence afforded by this most interesting monument is not of course of great weight. Identifications of local and Roman gods were no doubt often made by soldiers as well as by sailors, but in any case it is an interesting parallel to our inscription and its identification of Lenus, Ocelus, and Mars.

On the whole then it may be said that the evidence afforded by the dedication tends somewhat to support Dr. Ashby's interpretation and my own first suggestion that if we read *colligni* the corporation is one of veterans, but it cannot be said that it precludes the other suggestion that we have here a *collegium nautarum*.

(iv) Dr. Ashby's interpretation of *immunitas* is of course possible. *Immunes* on several occasions showed their gratitude for their immunity by gifts to their college. For instance Cinna, a slave of the imperial house, makes a gift *collegio Liberi Patris et Mercuri | negotiantium cellarum uinariarum . . . ob immunitat(em)* in the year A.D. 102,⁸ and a statue of Venus is given to the *dendrophori [o]b onorim (sic) immunitatis (sic)*.⁹ An *immunis* gives a statue of

¹ Waltzing, iii. No. 183.

² *Ib.* iii. No. 1698.

³ *C.I.L.* xiii. 6324.

⁴ *Ib.* xiii. 2002.

⁵ *C.I.L.* xiii. 6450.

⁶ Waltzing, iii. No. 479.

⁷ *Ib.* xiii. 3026.

⁸ *Ib.* vi. 8826.

⁹ *Ib.* xiv. 107.

Caracalla and a gift of money to the *cannophori*,¹ presumably for the same reason; and we find also gifts of a marble base (no doubt the base of a statue) *honoris causa*,² and there are other examples. These immunities were given for various reasons and are fully discussed and classified by Waltzing;³ but the combination of *immunitas collegii* may quite well have a sense which Dr. Ashby has failed to note. From the times of Claudius certain colleges, especially those connected with the supply of Rome, had been granted exemptions from various burdens, and by the second century these were regularized and common. *Diuis Hadrianus rescripsit immunitatem nauium maritimarum habere qui annonae urbis seruiunt* (*Dig.* 50, 6. 6 (5) § 5). This immunity was a *muneribus ciuilibus*, or *municipalibus* or *publicis*. It was not confined to gilds of sailors, though they seem to have been among the most highly privileged. In certain cases it included *tutela uacatio*; but in the time of Trajan the *domini nauium* claimed but failed to obtain this exemption *inter privilegia*, which seems, as Waltzing says, to prove that from this time they were exempt from *munera municipalia*.⁴

By the time of Callistratus (end of the second century) all corporations whose members' trades contributed to the public advantage (*publicis utilitatibus*) enjoyed '*immunitas*.'⁵ It may then be fairly urged that the natural meaning of *immunitas collegii* is an 'immunity which a gild enjoys.' The exact phrase seems to occur only once among the large number of inscriptions collected by Waltzing, and in this case it has precisely the meaning which I suggest. At Brescia we have an honorific inscription to *M. Nonius M. f. Fabia Arrius Paulinus Aper* by the *coll(egium) dendrophorum quod eius industria immuni[t] | as collegi nostri sit confirma[ta]*.⁶ The evidence which this inscription affords can certainly not be disregarded in discussing the meaning of our Caerwent inscription.

If, then, at Caerwent *immunitas collegii* has the same meaning as at Brescia, it would be additional evidence that we should read *colleg. n(autarum)*, for at the time our dedication was made it was to these gilds especially that such exemptions were made.

It would be interesting, but perhaps vain to suggest that our *M. Nonius* belonged to the same family as the *M. Nonius* at Brescia, who may have been Consul in A.D. 207, or in the reign of Alexander Severus. Mommsen on this inscription gives a list of other members of his family, whose names occur in inscriptions. All but one belong to the tribe *Fabia*. The cognomen *Romanus* is borne by none of them, but it was certainly borne by men of senatorial rank as well as by freedmen. (See Dessau, *Prosopographia imperii Romani*.)

(v) It seems reasonable to suggest that the place where this stone was found was actually the '*schola*,' or, if it be a veterans' gild, the *curia* (the words would have the same meaning) of the *collegium*. We know indeed little or nothing of these meeting places. Religious and funeral gilds often had their meeting places in temples; but of the exact plan of those of professional or

¹ *C.I.L.* xiv. 119.

² vi. 2191.

⁵ *Dig.* 50, 6. 6 (5) § 12.

³ Vol. i. p. 490.

⁴ Vol. ii. p. 402.

⁶ *C.I.L.* v. 4341.

trade gilds we have little or no information. The word *schola*, Waltzing maintains, implies nothing definite as to shape, which might be rectangular, polygonal or circular.¹ But there seem to be two more or less permanent characteristics, viz. the bench where the members sat and the altar, for 'la schola était à la fois le local et le temple du collège.'²

Rooms 5 and 6 of House XI, where our inscribed stone was found, originally formed without doubt one room (see *supra*); and this room has in it a base of masonry about three feet square, symmetrically placed as regards the E. and W. walls and some four feet from the S. wall, the object of which we had regarded, as Dr. Ashby rightly says, as uncertain. But it seems now almost certain that this was the base of the altar; and the shallow recess in the south wall about five feet long—with relation to which the base is placed quite symmetrically—may well have been the niche in which the statue of Mars was placed. There are no certain traces of benches, but these may of course quite well have been of wood.

Further, Waltzing tells us that the *scholae* of trade gilds were often found in the quarter where the members worked. The situation of this building is near the south gate, which seems as far as we have yet discovered to have no relation to any road leading southward, but may well have been related to the stream which flows a little below the city, and which lower down forms Caldecot Pill. This stream is now only a brook; but two thousand years ago it was undoubtedly much wider and was probably tidal. It is too early to dogmatize on this point; further excavation can alone settle this question. But it may not be unwise to note here the possible relation between the situation of the *schola*, if it be one, and the south gate.

Lastly, one final suggestion may be hazarded. Is it possible that the gild, if it be one of sailors, was largely composed of veterans, who coming from the Rhine would naturally be apt for such a calling? This suggestion would account for the dedication to Mars and would give us a fairly harmonious and satisfactory explanation of all our difficulties.

It has, moreover, the support of an inscription at Carnuntum,³ . . . [*m*]agistri col[legii] vet[er]anoru(m) centonari | oru(m) im | pensis s(uis) p(osuerunt). Waltzing, indeed, inclines to the view that this implies two distinct gilds,⁴ but both Mommsen and Hirschfeld hold that it indicates a gild of *centonarii* composed of veterans. The *centonarii* apparently discharged the duties of a public fire brigade, and it is not unnatural to suppose that veterans might have also undertaken the equally public service on the rivers.

A. TRICE MARTIN.

Note.—I have been unable satisfactorily to examine inscriptions referring to *collegia*, which have been found since the publication of Waltzing's book in 1900.

¹ Vol. i. p. 221.

² *Id. ib.* p. 223.

³ *C.I.L.* iii. 11097.

⁴ Waltzing, vol. ii. p. 206.

ON THE USE OF ἄλλ' ἢ IN ARISTOTLE.

THE idiomatic use of ἄλλ' ἢ found in classical writers is familiar in Aristotle; but there is a set of passages for which the ordinary renderings of it fail, and the difficulty is such that the text has been suspected. Bonitz, for instance, *Index Aristotelicus*, 33^b 20,¹ says of two of these passages, *Pol.* 1257^b 21, *Metaph.* 1038^a 14, that ἄλλά is enough by itself, or even that ἄλλά without ἢ seems required (*ubi ipsum ἄλλά vel sufficit vel requiri videatur*), and it has been proposed in the second of these places to read ῆ for ἢ. It must be contended that the text is sound in all the difficult passages in question.

In the Aristotelian usage three stages may be distinguished. The first represents the natural origin of the idiom, and here ἄλλ' ἢ may be rendered 'than': the second a modification of the first, where the meaning can be expressed by 'except': the third represents a further modification where neither of these translations can be given by itself, and to this class belong the passages which cause the difficulty.

In the first set of passages a general negation is followed by an exception. The exception might be introduced by ἄλλά alone, as indicating a contrast; so Plato, *Laws*, 710C *εὐτυχὴς . . . μὴ κατ' ἄλλο, ἀλλὰ τὸ γενέσθαι . . . νομοθέτην ἄξιον ἐπαίνου* (*Ast's Lexicon*), *Dem. c. Mid.* 554. 15, *μηδένα ἕτερον . . . ἄλλ' Ἀρίσταρχον*. But the negative clause contains a word of comparison, so that the exception could be introduced by ἢ alone. The two constructions are combined² in ἄλλ' ἢ, and in consequence of the word of comparison we may translate 'than,' or 'but,' when 'but' can be the equivalent of 'than.' For instance:

Categ. 3^b. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο σημαίνει τὸ λευκὸν ἄλλ' ἢ ποιόν (nothing else than, nothing but).

Top. 103^a 20. τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κρήνης ὕδωρ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ διαφέρει ἄλλ' ἢ τῷ σφοδρότεραν εἶναι τὴν ὁμοιότητα.

N. Eth. 1124^b 31. ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἄλλον μὴ δύνασθαι ζῆν ἄλλ' ἢ πρὸς φίλον (other than a friend). There are many passages of this type.³

¹ The passages from Aristotle quoted in this article may be found, with others, in the *Index Aristotelicus*.

² So also (e.g.) Kühner, *Gr. Gr.* ii. § 535, 6, Anm. 3. Kühner does not distinguish the second category from the first, nor does he recognise the existence of passages of the third category at all. Madvig, who held

that ἄλλ' ἢ represented ἄλλο ἢ, the accent being wrong, perhaps thought the combination of constructions unlikely; but *μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ* is a still more striking combination of adversative constructions.

³ For Platonic examples see *Ast's Lexicon*, vol. i. p. 202.

In the second stage—the negative clause no longer contains a word of comparison, and in strict grammar the exception would not be introduced by ἢ alone. Nevertheless the notion of comparison may be so involved in a negative expression that it can be followed by ἢ alone, or by ἀλλά alone. Cf. Xen. Cyr. 2. 3. 10, οὐδὲ παρ' ἐνὸς οὐδὲ τοῦτο μαθὼν . . . ἢ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως; ib. 7. 5. 41 μηδένα παριέναι ἢ τοὺς φίλους (Kühner, Gr. Gr. ii. § 542, An. 4), Eur. Hipp. 638 οὐτις ἀλλ' ἐγώ (Kühner, 535. 5). Thus the combination ἀλλ' ἢ is retained as in the first stage, but unless a word of comparison is supplied it cannot be translated 'than.' The meaning is expressed by 'except,' or 'but,' when 'but' can be equivalent to 'except.'

Post An. 74^b 16. ἐξ ἀναγκαιῶν δ' οὐκ ἔστι (συλλογίσασθαι) ἀλλ' ἢ ἀποδεικνύντα; as if οὐκ ἄλλως ἔστιν ἀλλ' ἢ ἀποδεικνύντα.

Metaph. 1005^a 12. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ τοῦ γεωμέτρου θεωρῆσαι τί τὸ ἐναντίον ἢ τέλειον ἢ ὄν ἢ ἐν ἢ ταυτὸν ἢ ἕτερον ἀλλ' ἢ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως.

Politics, 1305^b 14. διὰ τὸ ὀλίγους μετέχειν, καὶ καθάπερ εἴρηται, εἰ πατήρ, υἱὸν μὴ μετέχειν, μὴδ' εἰ πλείους ἀδελφοί, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸν πρεσβύτατον.

Poetics, 1455^a 4. ὅτι ὁμοίος τις ἐλήλυθεν, ὁμοίος δὲ οὐθεὶς ἀλλ' ἢ Ὀρέστης (no one except, no one but).

There are also a considerable number of passages of this kind.

In the third stage the idiom has undergone a further and more important modification through another change in the form of the negative clause. Instead of a general negative statement, the negation is made only in certain instances which are intended as illustrations of it, but with the implication of the general negative to which exception is to be made. This implication causes the same construction as in the second class of passages, but owing to the ellipse the simple translation 'except' is no longer possible, and a clause must be introduced before it representing the general negative.

The form is, 'A is not B₁ nor B₂ nor B₃, etc. [and, in general, no B] except B₄,' or 'A is not B₁ etc. [nor indeed any B] except B₄,' or 'A is not B₁ or B₂, etc., indeed only B₄.' Hist. An. 563^b 19 (Aristotle is contending that the cuckoo is not a form which the falcon takes at a certain season). ἔστι δ' ὁ μὲν ἱέραξ γαμφώνυχος, ὁ δὲ κόκκυξ οὐ γαμφώνυχος· ἔτι δὲ οὐδὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔοικεν ἱέρακι, ἀλλ' ἄμφω ταῦτα περιστέρᾳ μᾶλλον· ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ τὸ χρώμα μόνον προσέοικεν ἱέρακι.

The denial is here made in the principal cases with the implication that it is generally valid. '... Nor is the cuckoo like the falcon in the head either: (indeed there is no likeness) except that it is like the falcon in colour only.'

Ib. 580^a 20. εἰ δ' ἔστιν ὁ χρόνος οὗτος τῆς κινήσεως ἢ μὴ ἔστιν οὐδέν πω συνῶπται μεχρί γε τοῦ νῦν, ἀλλ' ἢ ὅτι λέγεται μόνον.

The meaning is that there is nothing to go upon in the matter but hearsay; but the negation is expressed only for the principal source of evidence. 'We have not the evidence of searching observation: (nor indeed any evidence)

but hearsay.' Or 'We do not know anything about it through investigation, (nor anything about it at all) except only that it is so reported.'

Metaph. 1038^a 10. πάλιν τοῦ ζῴου τοῦ ὑπόποδος τὴν διαφορὰν δεῖ εἰδέναι ἢ ὑπόπουν. ὥστ' οὐ λεκτέον τοῦ ὑπόποδος τὸ μὲν πτερωτὸν τὸ δὲ ἄπτερον, ἐάνπερ λέγῃ καλῶς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἀδυνατεῖν ποιήσει τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ μὲν σχιζόπουν τὸ δ' ἄσχιστον, αὐται γὰρ διαφοραὶ ποδός.

Here the negation is made for the principal case concerned, for Aristotle probably has in mind a current definition of ζῴον, in which ὑπόπουν was divided into πτερωτόν and ἄπτερον. 'We cannot, properly speaking, divide "animal with feet" into "feathered" and "featherless," as people do who see no other way, (and in general into nothing) except "with divided feet" and "with undivided feet."'

The following passage is somewhat different in form, but belongs to the same category:¹

Politics, 1257^b 21. ἡ καπηλικὴ ποιητικὴ χρημάτων, οὐ πάντως, ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ χρημάτων μεταβολῆς.

Instead of a general negation we have a partial negation, οὐ πάντως, succeeded, as in the other examples of this class, by the construction proper to the general negation.

'Not in every way'—οὐ πάντως—might have opposed to it 'though in most (or many) ways,' or 'indeed in no way but one (or a few exceptions).' In the latter case οὐ πάντως indicate the general denial by a kind of litotes, and this is what is in the writer's mind in the present passage. 'Not in every way, indeed only in the way of exchange.'

The only instance I have been able to find (by help of grammars and indices) of the third kind of passage in other writers is Demosthenes contra Philippum, 45. 13—δύναμιν τινα ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι φημὶ προχειρίσασθαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἢ συνεχῶς πολεμήσει καὶ κακῶς ἐκείνον ποιήσει. μὴ μοι μυρίους μηδὲ δισμυρίους ξένους μηδὲ τὰς ἐπιστολιμαίους ταύτας δυνάμεις, ἀλλ' ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἔστω [v.l. ἔσται]. But the text is uncertain: perhaps a difficilior lectio ἀλλ' ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἔστω was altered to ἀλλ' ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἔσται.

Mr. Henderson, of New College, has pointed out to me that Blass has produced one by emendation in Demosthenes pro Phormione, § 43.—οὐδὲ γὰρ Πασίων ὁ σὸς πατήρ ἐκτίσαθ' εὐρὼν οὐδὲ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ παραδόντος, ἀλλ' ἢ παρὰ τοῖς αὐτοῦ κυρίοις Ἀντισθέnei καὶ Ἀχαιστράτῳ τραπεζίτείουσι πείραν δοὺς ὅτι χρηστός ἐστι καὶ δίκαιος, ἐπιστεύθη. One MS. (A) has αλλη, the remainder seem to have ἀλλὰ (Sandys): in order to avoid the conjunction of three short syllables Blass conjectured ἀλλ' ἢ, quoting Thucyd. v. 60 in support of it.

The passage, however, from Thucydides is not a parallel. It might be if Kühner's interpretation of it were right, but it is erroneous. The passage is

¹ Newman's note on this passage, from the kind of construction to which he assimilates it (Plato, Protag. 354 B), would amount to putting it in the second

category. It would belong to the second if we had οὐδαμῶς instead of οὐ πάντως.

as follows: καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπόντες τῶν Ἀργείων ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν καὶ οὐ τοῦ πλήθους κελεύσαντος εἶπον· καὶ ὁ Ἄγισ δεξάμενος τοὺς λόγους αὐτὸς καὶ οὐ μετὰ τῶν πλεόνων οὐδὲ αὐτὸς βουλευσάμενος, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ κοινώσας τῶν ἐν τέλει ξυστρατευομένων σπένδεται κ.τ.έ.

Kühner (ii. § 535, 6) renders 'sich nicht mit mehreren noch *mit sich allein* berathend,' and thinks the ἢ due to the comparative πλεόνων. But τῶν πλεόνων corresponds to τοῦ πλήθους, and the sense plainly is that just as the two Argives made their offer to Agis without consulting the general body (πλήθος) of commanders on their side, so Agis did not consult the general body of commanders (οἱ πλείους) on his side either (οὐδὲ αὐτός), when he accepted the offer, except that he communicated with one of the commanders. This, therefore, is a quite clear instance of the second class of passages, and so of a common kind.

J. COOK WILSON.

PLATO, *PHILEBUS*, 31 C.

THE excellent article in the January number of the *Classical Quarterly* upon a mistaken interpretation of *Philebus* 31 C contains the somewhat incorrect statement that this interpretation is the general one: and the article itself is anticipated by a short note in a paper which I published in the *Transactions of the Oxford Philological Society* for 1881-2. I have nothing to complain of, for (as will appear) it may partly serve me right. Besides, my paper, though duly registered in the *Revue de Philologie*, is omitted from the index of that periodical; the aforesaid *Transactions* are out of print, and by some mischance my correction of the wrong rendering did not appear in the last edition of Jowett's *Plato*, though Jowett intended it should.

My note was as follows:

Jowett, Introduction to *Philebus*, page 3, second edition, 'Many points require further explanation; e.g. the reference of pleasures to the indefinite class (31 A) compared with the assertion which almost immediately follows, that pleasure and pain naturally have their seat in the third or mixed class: these two statements are unreconciled.'

After classifying pleasure under ἀπειρον—the other classes being πέρας, μικτόν, αἰτία τῆς ξυμμίξεως—Plato next (31 A) inquires 'in what subject pleasure and knowledge reside and how they arise in that subject' (ἐν ᾧ τέ ἐστὶν ἐκότερον αὐτοῖν καὶ διὰ τί πάθος γίγνεται). The new question is not about the classification of pleasure. The answer to it is that pleasure is ἐν τῷ κοινῷ γένει: which means not that pleasure is to be classified in the κοινὸν γένος (i.e. in the μικτὸν γένος), but that the subject of which pleasure is an attribute is the μικτὸν γένος, that is a member of the class μικτόν. This subject is further on (32 A) explained to be τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπείρου καὶ πέρματος ἑμψυχον γεγονός εἶδος, the animal nature (ζῶον). Pleasure then, according to Plato, belongs to the class ἀπειρον, and resides in subjects which belong to the class μικτόν. The only ambiguity is one of expression; in ἐν τῷ κοινῷ γένει the preposition does not refer to classification, and κοινὸν γένος is put loosely for certain members of the κοινόν or μικτὸν γένος.

In justice to Stallbaum I should have added that, though possibly he did not express himself with sufficient clearness to be understood by some subsequent commentators, he certainly took the passage rightly: but owing to some preoccupation, which I do not seek to excuse, it did not even occur to me to look at Stallbaum at the time.

The writer of the article in the January *Classical Quarterly*, when representing the misinterpretation as 'general,' could not have been aware that it does not occur in some of the most important commentators, and that one of them specially warns against it in more than one edition. Stallbaum in his first edition points out the possibility of a mistake, and gives the right explanation in the *Prolegomena*, p. lxx: under the text there is a short note only.

In Stallbaum's last edition, 1842, the matter is referred to, as before, in the *Prolegomena* (p. 47), and a longer note, almost identical with the passage in the *Prolegomena* of the first edition, is given under the text. This is as follows:

Sedem voluptatis atque doloris in mixto genere quaerendam esse censet. Id quod fortasse alicui primo certe aspectu mirum videatur. Nam voluptas antea ad τὸ ἄπειρον referebatur. Enimvero probe discernenda est quaestio antea instituta, de *genere* voluptatis in se spectatae, ab ea quae nunc suscipitur de *sede* et origine doloris ac voluptatis. Dicitur igitur nunc voluptas ac dolor in τῷ κοινῷ sive ξυμμισγομένῳ inesse, propterea, nisi fallor, quod omnia animalia ipsique homines, in quos voluptatis ac doloris sensus cadit, ad τὴν γεγενημένην οὐσίαν referri debent; quidquid vero aut infinitum tantum est aut finitum, id voluptatis aut doloris capax esse non potest; neque enim in eo harmoniae vel dissolutio vel restitutio locum habet, in qua una voluptatis et doloris causam atque originem positam esse docetur.

Bekker's edition (1826) of the works of Plato, with explanatory notes derived from a number of commentators, repeats the short note under the text of Stallbaum's first edition.

In the German edition with translation and notes by Dr. F. W. Wagner (Leipzig, 1857), the translation is such as accords with a right understanding of the passage, and this is confirmed by the short analysis in the Introduction, p. xx.

Coming to the English commentators, the mistake is not found in Poste (edition with commentary 1860, translation 1860). There is no note in his commentary, and from this, considering his accuracy and conscientiousness, one may be sure, even if there were no other evidence, that he took the passage rightly. For if he had not he would have felt the obvious difficulty about the classification which the mistake involves, felt by all who have made the mistake, and he would certainly have mentioned it. Further, editing the *Philebus* after Stallbaum, he was certain to have studied him carefully—he quotes Stallbaum in a near context—and if he had disagreed with him on such a point would have said so. Doubtless he agreed with Stallbaum that there was no difficulty at all if the words were only read attentively (at vero nullas prorsus hic inveniēmus difficultates modo verba diligenter et attente legerimus), and then it was in keeping with Poste's self-restraint to say nothing about it. Poste's translation quite confirms this, for he follows Stallbaum's use of 'sedes,' the word by which Stallbaum marked the true nature of the question asked in 31 B (it is italicised in his first edition¹). Poste translates 31 B 'We must next inquire where each is seated'; and 31 C 'I think both pleasure and pain have their seat in the mixed class.' Again, in Poste's analysis of the argument the text is treated as assigning Pleasure to the class of the ἄπειρον only.

The wrong rendering is found in Badham, Paley, and Bury. Paley may have got it from Jowett or Badham, for he studied both carefully; but he adds some singular mistakes of his own. Bury's note seems to combine those of Badham and Paley. The able writer of the article in the January number of the *Classical Quarterly* appears to have been thinking of Bury and Badham.

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¹Cf. also *Prolegomena* of last edition, p. 47, 'Itaque facile apparet sapientissime philosophum voluptatis atque doloris sedem [not pleasure itself] ad tertium genus retulisse, neque hoc in re ipsum secum pugnare

dicendum esse.' It is true Jowett has 'seat' in his own translation, but one suspects he followed Poste's translation without seeing the special point of it.

ON SOME TIBULLIAN PROBLEMS.

I. THE FEAST OF LUSTRATION IN II. i.

DISSATISFIED with current views upon the exordium of Tibullus II. i. (vv. 1-24), I proposed in *Selections from Tibullus* (1903) to make the occasion of the poem the *Sementinae Feriae* instead of the *Ambarvalia*. This proposal, criticised, amongst others, by Mr. Warde Fowler in an interesting article in the *Classical Review* (xxii. 1908, pp. 36 sqq.), I have now abandoned (*ib.* p. 40 b). But the difficulties which led me to break away from previous exegesis still remain, and to them I address myself in the present article.

I shall assume that these difficulties do not arise from lax or 'poetical' treatment of facts, and that here, as elsewhere, Tibullus writes upon rustic matters with adequate knowledge and care.

Let us collect the indications which he gives of the season of the festival which he is here describing. Firstly, a lamb is mentioned as the offering (15). This, as Mr. Fowler says (l.c. p. 37), is not decisive, but it is consistent with any date between the middle of January and, say, the end of June. Ploughing, again, is in progress. This may be the *proscissio* which in *uliginosi campi* took place in the latter half of April (Columella, ii. 4. 3), but in *colles pinguis soli* (*ib.* § 9) in March, or even as early as February in mild weather or dry districts. Or it may be the *iteratio*, which is to be accomplished after the middle of April and before the summer solstice (§§ 4, 9). The *tertiatio*, which, like the *proscissio* and *iteratio* of *exiles agri* (§ 11), took place in the beginning of September (§ 4) or about the autumnal equinox (§ 9), it cannot be, since Tibullus refers to the harvest as yet to come (l. 19). To Columella's statements those of Varro, *R.R.* i. 28, may be subjoined. He mentions ploughing in the period between the first blowing of Fauonius (Feb. 7) and the vernal equinox, in that from the vernal equinox to the rising of the Pleiads (May 8), and again in that which ended with the summer solstice, the first two periods being the most important.¹ So far, then, we are pointed to a date between the earlier part of February and the latter part of June.

But now we come to the passage which seemed to me clearly to indicate the winter and therefore to be incompatible with any date that could be

¹ Horace, *Odes*, I. iv., is especially interesting in this connexion. He refers to *Fauonius* in l. 1, 'grata uice ueris et Fauoni.' A lamb is mentioned in 12, and

in 3 the cattle are no longer in sheds or the ploughman by the fire ('neque iam stabulis gaudet pecus aut arator igni').

assigned to an Ambarualian festival or *agrorum lustratio* (l. 1 'fruges lustramus et agros'). It follows on the prayer in lines 17-20.

di patrii, purgamus agros, purgamus agrestes :

uos mala de nostris pellite limitibus.

neu seges eludat messem fallacibus herbis

neu timeat celeres tardior agna lupos.

20

tunc nitidus plenis confisus rusticus agris

ingeret ardenti grandia ligna foco ;

turbaque uernarum, saturi bona signa coloni,

ludet et ex uirgis extruet ante casas.

euentura precor : uiden' ut felicibus extis

25

significet placidos nuntia fibra deos?

I had supposed the time contemplated in *tunc* to be immediate, and the connexion of thought to be 'Grant the farmer's prayer, and he may thereupon to-day, with full confidence in the future, indulge his genius in his cheerful home,' but I now believe (as I wrote to Mr. Fowler, l.c. p. 38 *a*) that its reference is prospective and to a period posterior to anything in the context.

Mr. Fowler accepts this interpretation of *tunc*, but holds an entirely different theory as to the purport of the passage. For his defence of it, which rests upon some undeniable though, I believe, accidental ambiguities, I must refer to his own article ; but its presentation may be condensed as follows. 'The poem and the *lustratio* it describes belong to the spring.' 'The omens are favourable, the *lustratio* is successful, and the husbandman may look forward to the time when the crops are no longer in danger (*confisus plenis agris*, which he understands as feeling every confidence in the fields full of the now ripe or ripening corn), and when he will be able to take his part in the general rejoicings with a light heart.' These 'general rejoicings' he finds in 22-24. 22 *ardenti foco* he understands of 'a midsummer bonfire or of an altar-fire at a summer festival,' inclining apparently to the former (p. 39 *a*). And in the next couplet he sees 'a survival of an ancient bit of custom or ritual in which the *uernae* took part, making booths or tabernacles out of *uirgae*. To this he finds parallels in Ovid's account of the feast of Anna Perenna on the Ides of March (*Fasti*, 3. 523), in Tibullus's (ii. 5. 95 sqq.) of an unspecified festival and in Festus's mention of the Neptunalia, July 23, when booths or huts were erected, made of the foliage of trees : 'Vmbrae uocantur Neptunalibus casae frondeae pro tabernaculis' (p. 377). Now the sense, upon which Mr. Fowler bases his theory of a 'ritual' allusion, *can* be extracted from the Latin of 24, and others have in fact so extracted it, and it may therefore here be submitted to an examination in detail which the enforced brevity of my notes in the *Selections* prevented it there from receiving.

The parallels cited by Mr. Fowler for the custom appear to fail him in an important respect. Why is it not the *coloni* but the *uernae* that make booths of branches here? In Ovid and in Tibullus (ii. 5. 95) this 'bit of ritual' is performed by *freemen*.

In 21 *plenis—agris* might certainly mean 'full of the standing corn.' Cf. Tac. *H.* 2. 12 'pleni agri; apertae domus.' But it may just as well mean 'full of the sown seed.' Cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, 4. 633 sq. 'nunc grauidum pecus est; grauidae quoque semine terrae. | telluri plenae uictima plena datur.' *confisus*, Mr. Fowler thinks, 'suits better with crops that have come to maturity and thus passed through the greater part of the perils that beset them than with seed that has yet to encounter so many natural dangers.' But his objection cannot be upheld in the face of Tibullus, i. 9. 45, 'tum miser interii, *stulte confisus* amari,'¹ where the adverb shows *confidere* is just as suitable of unwarranted as of justifiable confidence. Furthermore, the husbandman's trust in the good faith of the land he has sown is an idea that naturally occurs to our poet; ii. 6. 21 sq. 'spes alit agricolas: spes sulcis *credit* aratis | semina, quae magno faenore *reddat* ager,' 3. 61 'at tibi, dura seges, Nemesim quae abducis ab urbe, | *persoluat* nulla *semina* terra *fide*.'

Need we adduce proof that the simple and obvious sense of the next line is that the countryman heaps logs upon his blazing hearth to keep out the bitter cold? If so, Hor. *Carm.* i. 9. 5 'dissolue frigus, *ligna* super *foco* | *large reponens*' and Ovid, *Fasti*, 4. 509 sq. 'illa domum glandes excussaue mora rubetis | portat et *arsuris* grandia *ligna* *focis*' will serve our turn.

In 23 *uernarum* in itself may signify either 'home-born slaves in general' (so Mr. Fowler) or 'home-born slave children,'² which is its meaning in Plautus, *Miles*, 698 'quid? *nutrici* non missuru's quicquam quae *uernas* alit?', Horace, *S.* ii. 6. 65 sqq. 'o noctes cenaue deum quibus ipse meique | ante Larem proprium uescor *uernasque* procacis | pasco libatis dapibus'; cf. *Epod.* 2. 65. But, following a principle, the importance of which for the interpretation of Tibullus I have urged on more than one occasion (*Journal of Philology*, xxvi. pp. 87 sq., xxviii. pp. 153–156; *Selections from Tibullus*, p. 208), we shall be guided by the parallelisms of i. 5. 25 sq. 'consuescit amantis | garrulus in dominae *ludere uerna* sinu'³ and ii. 2. 22 '*ludat* et ante tuos *turba* nouella pedes' to regard the second interpretation as more probable. The youthful *uernae* (the signs of prosperity, *bona signa*) are of course the offspring of the well-fed *colonus* and his *ancillae*. Juvenal 14. 166 sqq. seems a parallel worth quoting, '*saturabat* glaebula talis | patrem ipsum *turbamque* casae qua feta iacebat | uxor et infantes *ludebant* quattuor, unus | *uernula*, tres *domini*.'⁴

As for the last sentence, building houses (*aedificare casas*) was a children's game, as is attested by Hor. *S.* ii. 3. 247 (and 275). And in Tibullus the adverb

¹ I have printed the MS. reading *amari*, as the present point is not thereby affected, but *Amori*, dat. like *agris* here, is extremely probable.

² For this, it would seem, the more exact diminutive came later into vogue; Sen. *Dial.* ii. 6 'cogita *fili-orum* nos modestia delectari, *uernularum* licentia.' A transition in use seems indicated in Pliny, *N.H.* 22. 44, where *uerna*—*uernula* are used of the same person in the same context.

³ It is important to observe that here, the only other place where Tibullus uses *uerna*, it must refer to a child.

⁴ Mr. Fowler apparently takes *ludat* as generally indulging in 'jollification,' but in Tibullus, when applied to adults, it would more naturally have the erotic sense of i. 3. 64 and l. 87 of the present poem.

ante may refer indifferently to space or to time; see e.g. i. 10. 68 and 78 of our poem.

A reader then who is not in search of survivals of ancient ceremonials¹ may, I think, rest content to interpret this passage as a natural description of a winter scene in an Italian country home. The working year is over, the seed is sown; and the prosperous farmer, blessed with a good harvest and full of trust that the earth will continue to yield him her increase, piles up the cheerful household fire, round which play the little *uernae*, the proofs of his prosperity.² And its connexion with what precedes will be by no means obscure. 'Let us celebrate this feast of purification for our crops and herds with all the due traditional rites, and let us in purity and sincerity pray to the country gods to bless us, so that our harvest may not disappoint our just expectations nor the wolf ravage our flocks. Then, when the crops are gathered and the autumn sowing done, we may take our ease at home, looking forward to another prosperous year.'

The exact date of the lustration described by Tibullus, which we may call a private *Ambarualia*, no antiquarian research has been able to determine; doubtless for the reason that it was not fixed but varied with the year, the district, and the convenience of the farmer. The latitude indicated above (p. 127) is countenanced by the language of Virgil, who, while assigning the festival to early spring, *Georg.* i. 339 sqq. 'sacra refer Cereri laetis operatus in herbis, | extremae sub casum hiemis iam uere sereno; | tum pingues agni et tum mollissima uina, | tum somni dulces densaeque in montibus umbrae,' and 345 'terque *nouas* felix eat hostia fruges,' contemplates nevertheless the possibility of its being celebrated much later, inasmuch as he warns the husbandman that it must be over *before* the corn is cut, 347 sqq. 'neque ante | falcem maturis quisquam supponat aristis | quam Cereri torta redimitus tempora quercu | det motus incompositos et carmina dicat.' Within this period of the year would fall the small number of datable rustic festivals in various parts of Italy which are mentioned by Wissowa, *Real-Encyclop.* i. p. 1796.

II. ON LYGDAMVS.

In my *Selections from Tibullus* I contended for the following propositions:

1. *Lygdamus* was the poetaster's real name, while *Neaera*, that of his lady-love, was in all likelihood an assumed one.³ Though the latter cannot be directly

¹ Tibullus 'is thinking of some local summer festival, otherwise unknown to us' (Mr. Fowler, l.c. p. 40 *b*. The italics are mine).

² For Tibullus's sympathy with children see, besides the two places just quoted, i. 10. 16 and ii. 5. 91 sqq.

³ Prof. Cartault's argument, *Tibulle* (1909), p. 73 'son nom peut être fictif, mais, comme c'est un nom courant de courtisane, l'hypothèse est peu vraisemblable,' is unconvincing. If *Neaera* was for this

reason unsuitable to be adopted as a soubriquet, it was for the very same reason unsuitable to be retained, contrary to custom, as a real name. *Lygdamus*, we may feel sure, would not stray from the convention. [I take the opportunity of correcting an error in my review of Prof. Cartault's *A propos du Corpus Tibullianum*, *Classical Quarterly*, 1908, p. 225 n. At iv. i. (*Pan.*) 86 his intention was to read 'fontis ubi' (as I said it should be), but his printer made it *uti*.]

established, there is no reason for assuming a deviation from Roman literary etiquette in such matters. CATULLUS, *Lesbia*; GALLUS, *Lycoris*; TIBULLUS, *Delia*; PROPERTIUS, *Cynthia*; NASO, *Corinna*, etc., to which we may add Sulpicia, *Cerintus* (*Selections*, p. xxxviii, note (3)). Why any one should dispute this I do not know, except on the ground, surely an insufficient one, that he does not know who Lygdamus was.

2. He was probably a *freedman*. For his name was that of a slave, and the argument for a Roman descent drawn from iii. 1. 2 'nostris—auis' is wholly inconclusive, as 'a new Roman citizen entered as a matter of course into all the rights of the native' (op. cit. p. xlv). I am glad now to have the support of Prof. Cartault, *Tibulle* (1909), p. 74, who refers to Horace, *Carm.* iv. 15. 25 sqq. The wealth attributed to him on the score of the magniloquent phrases of iii. 3 is just as imaginary. 'Wishes,' I said, 'cost nothing,' and Prof. Cartault points out that even if he had wealth, a theory discountenanced by 3. 23 and 5. 31, so had plenty of other freedmen in his times. Further, I drew attention to the peculiar term which he applies to his relation to Neaera: *coniunx* 1. 26 (and note) and elsewhere, *coniugium* 4. 79. The researches of two scholars published since my note was written confirm my inference, showing, as they do, that *coniunx* is extremely frequent on the inscriptions of freedmen; *C.I.L.* i. 1053, 1220, 1240, 1242, 1479, 1064, 1413, 1011; vi. 15389, 16306, 21326, 24711, 18616, 20222, 17082.¹

Prof. Cartault (op. cit. p. 88) conjectures that Lygdamus was a freedman of Tibullus. This of course is possible. But if we are to guess, I prefer the guess that he was the Lygdamus of Cynthia and Propertius, *Selections*, p. xlv n. 2 (where his imitations of Propertius are referred to). There is no chronological difficulty that I can see. Lygdamus is mentioned in Prop. iv. 7. 35, a poem written after the death of Cynthia. But no poem in that book appears to be later than B.C. 16, and on my theory Lygdamus may have published the Third Book any time between B.C. 15 and B.C. 3.

J. P. POSTGATE.

¹J. Köhn, *Alllateinische Forschungen*, p. 86 (on *coniunx*), and E. H. Sturtevant, *Classical Philology*, i. pp. 213 sqq.

TRAUBE'S *NOMINA SACRA* AND POSTHUMOUS WORKS.

Nomina Sacra: Versuch einer Geschichte der christlichen Kürzung. Von LUDWIG TRAUBE, o. ö. Professor der Philologie an der Universität, München. (*Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters.* Herausgegeben von LUDWIG TRAUBE. Zweiter Band). Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1907. Pp. x+295. M. 15.

Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen. Von LUDWIG TRAUBE. Herausgegeben von FRANZ BOLL. Erster Band. *Zur Paläographie und Handschriftenkunde.* Herausgegeben von PAUL LEHMANN. Mit biographischer Einleitung von FRANZ BOLL. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1909. Pp. lxxv+263.

THE term 'nomina sacra' Traube borrowed from Sir E. Thompson, who designated abbreviations ΘC for *θεός*, DS for *deus*, as 'sacred and liturgical contractions' or 'contractions of sacred names.' Roughly speaking, these abbreviations are (with Q. for *que* and B. for *-bus*) the only abbreviations found in Latin majuscule MSS., so that this book provides us with a part of that history of Latin abbreviation, which was to have formed one volume of Traube's great work on Latin Palaeography. Other parts would have dealt with the Notae Juris (used in early legal MSS.) and with the large field of minuscule abbreviation; and, no doubt, the symbols found on inscriptions would not have been left unnoticed.

Latin majuscule abbreviation engrosses the fourth section of this book. The third gives us full details of the Greek contractions of 'nomina sacra,' while the fifth and sixth pursue the same investigation in Coptic, Gothic, Armenian, and Slavonic MSS. All these details Traube makes subservient to the theory which dominates the book, the theory that abbreviation by contraction is of Hebrew origin. The Jewish practice of obscuring by a symbol (the Tetragram) the name of the Supreme Being, was imitated by Greek translators of the Jewish Scriptures in the symbols ΘC, KC, etc., and by Latin translators of these Greek versions in the symbols DS, XPS, DNS, etc. Since the production of manuscripts was in the hands of monks, this method of abbreviating sacred names was extended in course of time to other words also. The phrases 'deus meus,' 'deus noster,' at first written DS MEUS, DS NOSTER, came to be written DS MS, DS NR; and, little by little, the practice was extended in

Latin mediaeval MSS. over a large number of words, although in Greek, curiously enough, it remained almost wholly restricted to 'nomina sacra.'

Readers of the book will, I think, soon abandon their first attitude of startled incredulity, and will acknowledge with grateful admiration that Traube has demonstrated the truth of his theory, as fully as the scanty records of these early Greek and Latin versions of the Bible admit of demonstration. For the benefit of those who have not the opportunity of reading Traube's own words, I will give in outline the course of his arguments.

Abbreviations in MSS. are of two kinds, (1) by Suspension, when the initial letter (or letters) of the word (or the initial letter of each or some of the syllables) is unaccompanied by the final letter, e.g. **D.** 'deus,' 'dei,' 'deo,' etc., **DOM.** (or **DMN.**) 'dominus,' 'domini,' 'domino,' etc.; (2) by Contraction, when the final letter of the word is written along with the initial letter (or the initial letter of each or some of the syllables), e.g. **DΘ** 'deo,' **DNΘ** 'domino.' We must in future use the term 'contraction' (or 'abbreviation by contraction') of the second kind only, and use for the other kind the term 'suspension' (or 'abbreviation by suspension'). Suspension is the Pagan or pre-Christian form of abbreviation; contraction does not appear until the Christian period, and is characteristic of Christian writings. The abbreviations used in the literary Greek papyri are suspensions, e.g. κ' for $\kappa\alpha\iota$ (whence $\acute{\kappa}\rho\omega\iota$ for $\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\hat{\omega}$), $\pi\theta^\delta$ for $\pi\acute{o}\theta\alpha\varsigma$, $\pi\theta\lambda^\epsilon$ for $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu$. So are the symbols of Latin Inscriptions, e.g. **C.** (or **CS.**) for 'consul' (-lis, -li, etc.), **IMP.** for 'imperator' (-ris, -ri, etc.). These symbols are accompanied by a dot, and are evidently designed to save space, since any word of common occurrence is symbolized in this way. When we come to Christian times, we find three changes. Christian abbreviation-symbols have a suprascript stroke instead of a dot, e.g. **DΘ̄** for 'deo': only a limited number of words (the 'nomina sacra') are symbolized: the final letter of the word invariably accompanies the initial. It was the second of these, the restriction of abbreviation to 'nomina sacra,' that led Traube to his discovery. He had remarked many years ago that **DΘ̄**, etc., never appears in the earliest MSS. for 'deo' in a Pagan sense, but only for the Christian God; **SPΘ̄** never represents *spiritu* in the sense of 'breath,' but only in the sense of 'the Holy Spirit.' And he had argued (rightly, as is now acknowledged) that the Codex Romanus of Virgil, which has **DΘ̄** at Aen. i. 303 (cf. Ecl. i. 6), cannot be earlier than the sixth century, the time when the restriction of the use of these symbols began to be relaxed. The (seventh century?) corrector of the Oxford Primasius (Douce 140) regards it as an error wherever he finds *deus* 'God' and *dominus* 'Lord' written in full, and substitutes the contractions. Similarly in an old Greek codex at Milan (A 147 inf.) the scribe himself expands the contraction-symbol which he had inadvertently used for $\acute{\kappa}\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ in its non-Christian sense. Indeed it is not until the ninth century that these contractions are freely used in Greek profane writings, and, although the barriers were earlier over-stepped in Latin, there is no lack of indications that even Carolingian

scribes recognized that these contractions were properly Christian symbols. A Carolingian corrector will often substitute *dō* for *deo*, *spū* for *spiritu*, when these words are used in their religious senses, and on the other hand will expand the contractions when the words have no religious significance.¹ And, in fact, Traube's discovery is partly anticipated by the remark of a ninth century writer, Christian of Stavelot, who (in a discussion of the symbol for *Iesus*) mentions, as the reason for these contractions, 'quia nomen dei non potest litteris explicari. Quando purum hominem significat, per omnes litteras scribitur.' The contraction of 'nomina sacra' was not designed to lighten the labours of the scribe; it was a mark of honour paid to these holy names.

In Hebrew MSS. the names of God were sometimes written in gold, a practice especially prevalent at Alexandria. This was imitated in Greek and Latin MSS. When St. Jerome speaks of Bibles in purple, silver and gold, he means Bibles on purple vellum, with the holiest names in gold, and others in silver; he means, in fact, what we find in the St. Petersburg 'codex purpureus,' in which the contractions of words like *θεός* are written in gold, and of words like *οὐρανός* in silver. The use of the Tetragram in Hebrew MSS. was a similar mark of honour. It was an attempt at concealment of the most holy of all names. Not merely would the omission of the vowels prevent it from being understood by the vulgar, but the priest himself, in reading aloud, used to substitute for it another name. Besides, we hear of a practice of using in this symbol characters taken from an obsolete form of the alphabet. When the sacred books of the Jews were translated into Greek, Aquila (as we see in the newly-found Cambridge fragments) reproduced these four obsolete forms of Hebrew letters, just as he found them written in the Hebrew texts of his own time, with (at least sometimes) a suprascript stroke. Origen used ΠΙΠΙ, a rough rendering of the current Hebrew letters. Other Greek translators substituted a similarly obscured Greek word with suprascript stroke, ΘC or KC. This was the starting-point of the Greek use of contractions for 'nomina sacra.' New Testament texts came to use similar symbols (with suprascript stroke) for a name like Ἰησοῦς, although we know that the earlier practice, when this name was abbreviated, was to use the suspension IH. For the early Christian writers found in the number 318 in Gen. xiv. 14 (the number of Abraham's troop), a mystic reference to the cross (Τ=300) and to the name of Jesus (ιη=18). That ΘC and KC were the first of these contractions is indicated by the Egyptian magic papyri of the third and fourth centuries (and probably earlier), in which these two symbols are predominant. These magic papyri show Jewish, not Christian, influence. To the original pair, ΘC and KC, others were gradually

¹ I noticed several examples lately in the ninth century Florence MS. (Ashb. 1899) of Valerius Maximus. The corrector expands the contraction-symbols for *spiritus* (p. 75, l. 28 κ.), *dominum* (p. 76, l. 26), *spiritus* (p. 78, l. 4), *spiritus* (p. 82, l. 15), *sanctum* (p. 85, l. 12), etc., etc., just as we

should be driven to correct the wrong use of a small initial letter or a large in similar English words. This MS., I should add, comes from Stavelot; while its twin-brother of Ferrières (now in the Berne Library, No. 366), tolerates the wrong use of the contractions in these passages.

added, at different periods and at different parts of the Greek world, the last in the series being ΜΗΡ for μήτηρ, probably at first in the sense of 'mother church.' The limited stock of the Latin imitations of these Greek contractions (e.g. DS for Greek ΘC, DNS or DMS for Greek KC, SPS for Greek ΠNA, while there are no Latin equivalents of other Greek contractions, e.g. of οὐρανός) suggests that the earliest Latin translations were made from Syrian Greek texts. Similarly the Greek symbol for 'Jerusalem,' ΙΑΗΜ (a contraction not of the Greek Ἱεροσόλυμα, but of the Hebrew form of the name), suggests that the Greek translators took this symbol (and presumably others) from their Hebrew originals, and that the Tetragram was not the isolated Hebrew type, from which all the Greek contractions were formed.

This short outline does not do justice to Traube's detailed statement of his arguments, but may suffice to show something of their strength. I must also pass over the details of his history of the development of contraction in Latin majuscule (partly also in minuscule) script, and content myself with saying that Traube's handling of them shows clearly the great part played by contractions in the corruption of Latin texts. For example, the use (which ceased about the ninth century) of nō for 'nostro' has caused in later transcripts the substitution of non for nostro, since the symbol nō at the time of these transcribers had come to denote 'non,' while nostro was denoted by the contraction nrō. A full history of Latin abbreviations, especially of those current in the earliest minuscule script, is urgently required as a help to textual emendation. Would that Traube had been spared to write it!

After Traube's lamented death in May, 1907, the hope was often expressed that as many of his papers as was possible should be published at the earliest opportunity. The publication has been undertaken by his life-long friend, Prof. Boll of Heidelberg, who has, in the first volume of the *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen von L. Traube*, given us, by way of Preface, a most welcome account of Traube's life and writings. This first volume, containing a selection from the famous Munich lectures on Latin Palaeography, appears under the editorship of Dr. Paul Lehmann. It could not have been put into better hands, for Lehmann's recent investigation into some Itala fragments in the Stuttgart Library comes sometimes very near to the inimitable style of his master. Lehmann adds, as a preface to these lectures, a list of the papers left by Traube, and, as an appendix, a list of the extant Latin MSS. in Capital and in Uncial script. The lectures themselves contain a history of Latin Palaeography (from Mabillon onwards), an account of the transition from papyrus to vellum, an enumeration (with a bibliography) of the chief libraries containing Latin MSS., and some remarks (in the tone of the *Nomina Sacra*) on contractions. Future volumes will be (1) *Einleitung in die mittellateinische Philologie*, edited by Lehmann; (2) *Ueberlieferungsgeschichte der römischen Literatur*, edited by Boll; (3) *Geschichte der Halbunciale*, edited by Lehmann; (4) *Gesammelte kleine Schriften*, edited by Prof. Skutsch of Breslau; and (I hope) *Spanische Symptome* (i.e. aām for 'autem,'

etc.). Traube's wonderful library (with a huge collection of photographs from Latin MSS.) has been acquired for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, and will be housed in Berlin.

The *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters* are not to be discontinued. Traube utilized them for the 'opuscula' of his pupils. His teeming brain provided an inexhaustible supply of subjects which he had not time to work out himself and which he handed over to others. In his *O Roma Nobilis* (Munich, 1891) he had shown how great was the influence of Sedulius Scottus on ninth century learning and how many MSS. were written by Sedulius himself or his Irish companions. This line of investigation has been followed out by Dr. Hellmann in the first volume of the series, *Sedulius Scottus*. The next volume deals with a kindred theme, *Johannes Scottus*, by Dr. Rand (now at Harvard). Traube's wonderful edition of the Rule of St. Benedict, the ideal for every editor of a Latin text, brought in its train the third volume, *Untersuchungen zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte der ältesten lateinischen Mönchsregeln*, by Dr. Plenkers. Another fruitful suggestion of the master, that the records of sixteenth century Latin scholars would throw light on the original home of many extant (and lost) MSS. of Latin classics, led to Lehmann's *Franciscus Modius*, which is to be followed by other treatises of this kind by the same hand. The other volumes of the series which have appeared as yet are Dr. Becker's *Textgeschichte Liudprands von Cremona*, Dr. Loew's *Die ältesten Kalendarien aus Monte Cassino*, Dr. Neff's *Die Gedichte des Paulus Diaconus*. But there are almost as many more 'overflows' from Traube's flood of discovery which are outside this series. His detection of Lupus of Ferrières as the corrector of the Berne MS. of Valerius Flaccus led to Schnetz's *Ein Kritiker des Valerius Maximus im 9 Jahrhundert* (Neuburg a. D., 1901). His projected edition of Ammianus Marcellinus, after his discovery of the text-tradition, was handed over to Dr. Clark. A hint of his on the lessons to be learnt from a comparison of an uncial archetype, the Puteaneus of Livy, with its minuscule transcript in the Vatican, led indirectly to Prof. Shipley's useful booklet on *Certain Sources of Corruption in Latin Manuscripts* (New York, 1904). I mention only a few instances, out of many. Other books of the kind are still to be published—Dr. Loew's account of Beneventan script, Dr. B. A. Mueller's of the 'subscriptions' in Latin MSS. (the traces of ancient editions), etc., etc. What a wonderful record for one who was an invalid for a great part of his life and who died in his forty-sixth year! As I stood some months ago outside his house at Munich I said to myself, 'How many paths have stretched out from this little garden, on this side and on that, into all quarters of the great world of learning!'

W. M. LINDSAY.

HENDERSON'S *CIVIL WAR AND REBELLION*.

Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman Empire. A Companion to the Histories of Tacitus. By BERNARD W. HENDERSON, M.A., Sub-Rector and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford. London: Macmillan & Co. 1908. 8vo. Pp. xxiii + 360. Four Illustrations from Busts, Maps and Plans.

EVERY reader of Mr. Henderson's previous work, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero*, will receive his new book with pleasurable anticipation. Nor will he be disappointed. The book is marked by the same freshness and originality of treatment, the same brilliant, if somewhat florid style, the same accurate and thorough knowledge of his subject, and, we may add, by the same novel and even startling suggestions, which, if they do not always convince, at least never fail to interest and attract.

The scope of the present book is narrower, since it is concerned solely with the military history of the famous 'Four Emperors' Year,' the three chapters dealing respectively with the campaign of Otho and the Vitellians, the Flavian invasion of Italy, and the Rebellion on the Rhine.

Mr. Henderson is an enthusiastic student of modern military history, and his professed aim is 'to write the history of these campaigns by the aid of and as illustrative of modern strategical principles.' With this end in view, he agrees with the aphorism of Von der Goltz, of whose *The Nation in Arms* frequent use is made throughout the book, that 'one ought to write the history not only of what actually happens in a war, but of what was intended to happen.' The difficulty of applying this aphorism to the wars of 69 A.D. is of course the frequent uncertainty as to what the intentions of this or that general were; its danger lies in the temptation to infer his intentions from these modern strategical principles, which cannot always be applied without discrimination to ancient warfare. About these particular wars, too, there is another point, which makes them in some respects unfavourable instances for the application of Mr. Henderson's method. They were civil wars, conducted for the most part by second-rate generals, with very imperfect control over their men, whose only thought was to get at the enemy with as little delay as possible. The result was that strategical considerations played a comparatively subordinate part in the conduct of the campaigns. In a few instances, I am inclined to think, Mr. Henderson has not made sufficient allowance for this last point. Thus, in the case of Spurius at Placentia, we have a good general with a very insubordinate army, which compels him against his better judgment

to march out into the open plain in the immediate neighbourhood of Caecina's superior force. Mr. Henderson, disregarding the account of Tacitus, which he puts down to camp gossip, attributes to Spurrina the 'intention' of making a 'reconnaissance in force,' and accordingly reconstructs the whole episode (p. 82). Again, in connection with the first battle of Bedriacum, the main factors were the impatience and insubordination of the Othonian soldiers, and the incompetence of Otho, Titianus and Proculus. The result was a reckless frontal attack. Mr. Henderson—I shall have to return to the point—discards all this, and attributes to Otho the 'brilliant conception' of a 'strategical envelopment' of the Vitellian army (p. 100, foll.). Once more, before the second battle of Bedriacum, the eccentric and circuitous march of the leaderless Vitellian army from Hostilia to Cremona is convincingly explained by Mommsen as due, not to strategical considerations, but to temporary loss of head and loss of nerve on the part of the soldiers. Mr. Henderson is not content with this, but attributes the choice of route to a desire to avoid the strategical dangers of the direct road, dangers, which an examination of the details would, I think, show to be imaginary. Much more legitimate, though I think that Mr. Henderson exaggerates his point, is his attribution to Otho, or, as I should put it, his advisers, of an important strategical motive in the dispatch of the fleet to Gallia Narbonensis (p. 90).

Some of Mr. Henderson's excursions into modern military technicalities, though highly interesting and instructive in themselves, have only a shadowy relation to these campaigns. Thus, the disquisition on pages 43 and 44 on the modern methods of defending mountain passes, throws very little light on the question, whether Otho might or might not have blocked the Alps against the Vitellian armies. Again, the dangerous position of an army, compelled 'to form front to a flank' is dwelt upon in connection with the possibility that the Vitellians might, after occupying Placentia, pursue their march to Ariminum (p. 48). But, if the Othonians were still south of the Po, this danger would not be incurred, if they were already north of the Po, the Vitellians could have no possible motive in marching to Ariminum.

But Mr. Henderson's main object of illustrating these campaigns by modern strategy is inextricably mixed up with another. Tacitus did not realise these strategical principles, and besides, Tacitus has been 'for all time' labelled by Mommsen as 'the most unmilitary of historians.' Accordingly, a great deal of Mr. Henderson's work, though mostly in the first chapter, is taken up with criticising the blindness, short-sightedness, shallowness, and incapacity of Tacitus in matters military. I have found it impossible within the limits of a review to do justice to this subject, and I have therefore dealt with it more fully in an article in the *Journal of Philology* (Vol. xxxi, No. 61). But no review of the book can leave quite untouched the most original, the most brilliant, but also the most untenable of his theories, the explanation of the first 'Battle of Bedriacum.'

Now every word, I think I may say without exception, in Tacitus and Plutarch, points to a reckless frontal attack, except the well-known crux in Hist. ii. 40 'confluentes Padi et Aduae fluminum—petebant.' On these words Mr. Henderson builds his theory. Otho, of whose military capacity we know absolutely nothing except from his supposed action in the present case, conceived the brilliant idea of a strategical envelopment of Cremona, which was to be made the Metz of the campaign. The Bedriacum force was to pass round the north of Cremona by a close flanking movement, and reach the mouth of the Adua, thus cutting communications with Gaul. At the same time, by a 'simultaneous movement' the Danube army was to occupy Bedriacum, so that Cremona would be enveloped and forced to capitulate. I can here only indicate the lines on which this theory must be tested.

1. Was this flank march, considering the numbers on the two sides, one which any sane general could have contemplated? Mr. Henderson himself (p. 111), admits that 'all depended on the immobility of the enemy.' This immobility he assumes, contrary to all probability, and in utter disregard of the express statement of Tacitus, that the Vitellians were keenly alert and watching for the first false move (ii. 34).

2. Is there any evidence for the simultaneous movement of the Danube army, on which, as Mr. Henderson again admits (p. 106), 'the whole idea of strategic envelopment depended'? I have tried to show elsewhere that there is absolutely none. If so, the whole theory falls like a house of cards.

Mr. Henderson admits that the idea was for one reason or another abandoned. But he makes a very ingenious attempt to find the initial stages of the scheme in Tacitus. According to Tacitus, the Othonians first encamped 'ad quartum a Bedriaco.' Next day, they started for the confluence, sixteen miles distant, in spite of the objections of Paulinus, who urged the certainty that they, weary with so long a march, would be attacked by the Vitellians, who would have barely four miles to traverse (ii. 40). They started however, and were attacked on the Postumian road, a few miles from Cremona. This is not promising material out of which to get the great flank movement, and the figures, 4, 16, and 4 cannot all stand. Mr. Henderson adopts the heroic, but wholly illegitimate course of altering 'ad quartum' into 'ad quartum decimum' (p. 345). From this point, the confluence is fifteen miles, but Mr. Henderson gets the sixteen by allowing the quite impossible margin of one mile extra for the flank march. The four miles of Paulinus are explained by a complete distortion and misrepresentation of what Tacitus makes him urge (pp. 116 and 345). The flank march is abandoned, partly because the Othonians have come too far along the road, partly because Otho's final orders are misunderstood. It seems to me that by methods of interpretation like this any theory can be proved or disproved. The suggestion which I make myself in the *Journal of Philology* is to read 'Hadrae' (the modern Arda) for 'Aduae,' and to substitute for the 'ad quartum' of Tacitus the fifty stades of Plutarch, a

preference for which there is some reason. With these two changes, all the other figures, the sixteen miles of Tacitus, the one hundred stades of Plutarch, and the four miles of Paulinus sufficiently well fit in. It is true that the matter resolves itself into a frontal attack, but the word 'Aduae' is the single obstacle to such a view, which is otherwise strongly supported by both Plutarch and Tacitus.

Of Mr. Henderson's three chapters, the first is perhaps the most interesting and the most exciting, because it is the most controversial. In the last two chapters Mr. Henderson is content, with some few exceptions, to follow the general guidance of Tacitus, filling up gaps and explaining obscurities with an acuteness and lucidity which make his work an invaluable 'Companion to the Histories.' But the very excellence of these chapters should, I think, make us hesitate before accepting Mommsen's exaggerated epigram that Tacitus is the most unmilitary of historians. Whether he was too fond of following camp gossip, as Mr. Henderson suggests, is a wide question, and requires more discussion than he gives to it.

At the close of his book, and in connection with 'the results in the Roman army,' arising from the troubles in Gaul and Germany, Mr. Henderson touches upon the fringe of two important questions,

1. The recruiting system for the Legions, and
2. The employment of 'Clan Regiments.'

He is well qualified to deal with both these subjects thoroughly, and I wish that he would do so, but his remarks here are not as clear or as free from misunderstanding as could be desired.

1. In the first place, he commits himself to the following, as it seems to me, astounding statement. 'The Emperor Augustus had sought to establish the general practice that recruits for legions serving in the Western part of the Empire should be drawn from the Eastern Provinces, and that legions on duty in the latter should be recruited from the West' (p. 324). This sweeping and, as far as I know, original statement is not supported by a single reference. I can only point out very briefly one or two objections to it. It is wholly opposed to the conclusions arrived at by Mommsen in his well-known article on the subject, in *Hermes* xix. All the epigraphic evidence collected there, as well as several passages from the *Annals*, point to exactly the opposite practice. The Eastern legions were recruited from the East, the Western from the West, while those of Moesia seem to have been raised from both. Mr. Henderson may say that Augustus was unable to carry his policy into effect. But it was from the first an obviously impossible policy, which Augustus could never have thought of. There were only six Eastern Legions and, omitting the Moesian, fifteen or sixteen in the West. Even for the six legions, there were not enough Roman citizens in the East to recruit them in the ordinary way, and in consequence the Eastern legions were very largely 'vernaculae,' *i.e.* composed of Orientals, who up to the time of enlistment were 'peregrini.' Is it conceivable

that Augustus could ever have contemplated a 'vernacular' army of this kind for the Rhine, the Danube, and Spain?

Again, Mr. Henderson explains the mutinous and disloyal behaviour of the German Legions in the year 69 by what he calls 'the introduction of the territorial system' into the army. He believes that the system of permanent camps involved recruiting from 'the children of the Legion,' and even from the children of the auxiliaries, and that 'so a legion and a locality became identified so closely that the interests and hopes of the latter became those of the former.' As a result, 'the legions on the Rhine in A.D. 69 were tainted with native German sympathies' (pp. 323 and 325). Now, with regard to the territorial system, I believe I am right in saying that epigraphic evidence is all against the view that strictly local recruiting was earlier than Hadrian. The German legionaries came from Gaul, especially Narbonensis, Spain, Noricum, and up to Vespasian, from Italy. Nor, though the circumstances were wholly exceptional, is there any evidence that the legions on the Rhine were tainted with German sympathies. Their mutinous conduct was due to the licence of civil war, while their disloyalty was either due to absolute compulsion, or again to the bitter feelings of civil strife. They were Vitellian legions, and 'Vitellianae legiones vel externum servitium quam imperatorem Vespasianum malle' (iv. 54). In the end, it was to the Gallic Empire that they swore allegiance, not to Civilis and his Germans. I make bold to say that there is no evidence whatever that long service in a province, whether Britain or Spain or Germany or Africa, and there are examples of it in all these, was the cause of danger or disloyalty among the legions. It is surely a somewhat lame conclusion to the lesson learnt in this war as to the dangers of the recruiting system, that Mr. Henderson has to admit, 'in the system of recruiting for the legions, Vespasian is not known to have made any change.'

2. With regard to the auxiliary troops along the Rhine, Vespasian did make an important change, and Mr. Henderson explains very clearly what it was, and the need for it (p. 329). A considerable number of Gallic cohorts and alae as well as some drawn from German tribes were employed in both the German armies. The possible dangers of this are obvious, and were increased by the practice of putting these corps under the command of their own countrymen. Vespasian, as Mr. Henderson shows, with a few exceptions, removed these German and Gallic auxiliaries to other provinces, further from their own homes. But if Mr. Henderson implies by his phrase, 'the practice of using clan regiments for auxiliaries in their native country,' that the auxilia generally up to this time were usually so posted, or that they may be collectively described as 'local levies,' I rather demur to this view. I notice that, *e.g.*, Mr. Henderson in speaking of the procurator of Raetia says: 'his only troops were such native levies as he could raise in case of sudden peril' (p. 29). On the contrary, the procurator of Raetia had a considerable force of auxiliary cohorts and alae, carefully distinguished in ii. 68 from the native levies: 'Raeticae alae cohortesque et ipsorum

Raetorum iuventus.' Does Mr. Henderson suppose that these alae and cohorts were all composed of Raeti, or that the nineteen cohorts and five alae in the Mauretanian provinces (ii. 52) were all composed of Mauretanian tribesmen, or that the auxiliaries of Noricum were all native levies, as is implied on page 162? We have unfortunately no 'diplomata' for the prae-Flavian period, but even in the Rhine army we have enough information to know that it was not the rule there to employ clan regiments in their own homes. The Batavian cohorts were at this time not part of the German army at all, but of the British. When they did belong to the German army they were stationed in Upper, not in Lower Germany. Belgae too are found in the upper army, Treveri on the Lower Rhine. Again, cohorts of Raeti, Thracians, Vascones, Britons, and of other tribes from more distant provinces are found in the Rhine armies, just as Gallic cohorts and alae are found in Britain and Pannonia. From the first, Tacitus tells us, (*Ann.* iv. 5,) the auxilia moved about from province to province more frequently than the legions, a statement quite inconsistent with the theory that they were all this time merely local levies.

Whether Mommsen is right in holding that in course of time the auxiliary soldiers 'served without distinction as to their descent in the most various divisions,' or whether, according to Mr. Henderson, the clan regiments 'presumably continued to be composed, at least largely (? entirely), of the natives of those tribes whose names they bear,' is a question which can only be decided by a careful examination of diplomata and other inscriptions. My impression is that Mommsen does not speak without book, but perhaps Mr. Henderson has collected counter evidence. The clan names prove no more than such a cognomen as 'Gallica' applied to a Syrian legion.

Among minor points, I would notice the following. On page 32 we are told that there were 'nine cohorts of Praetorian Guards, and seven of Urban Guards.' This implies that the increase made by Claudius affected the urban cohorts only, and not the praetorian. It is not the ordinary view, nor, I think, in accordance with the evidence. At any rate, Mr. Henderson must be wrong in saying, page 34, 'Under Tiberius, Cohors XVII is in garrison at Lugdunum.' At that time, it must have been cohors XIII.

It appears from ii. 57, that Vitellius was joined before entering Italy by eight thousand troops from Britain. Mr. Henderson on p. 166 supposes that in response to an appeal from Vitellius, further detachments were sent 'in time to take part in the struggle.' This is a mistake. The 'Vexillarii trium Britannicarum legionum,' in ii. 100, are clearly those led into Italy by Vitellius himself.

On page 214 Mr. Henderson supposes that the legio II Adjutrix which 'was formally enrolled by Mucianus,' was formed from the 'legio e classicis,' a body of marines collected by Vitellius from the Misenum fleet (iii. 55). This is of course possible, but I would suggest as far more probable that it was formed from the 'classici Ravennates legionariam militiam poscentes,' who

joined the army of Antonius (iii. 50). In that case, the promotion would be a distinct reward of service rendered. There seems no reason why the Vitellian legion should be so honoured.

On page 256 Mr. Henderson says, 'the Nemetes were Gauls.' Tacitus, *Germ.* 28, classes them among the tribes which were 'haud dubie Germanorum populi.'

On page 288 Mr. Henderson says that Tutor, after the death of Vocula, 'fell upon Cologne and Mainz, and took them both without trouble.' Tacitus does not say that he took either place. He says that he surrounded them, and compelled them to acknowledge the Gallic empire (iv. 59). Cologne was clearly not a captured city when it negotiated with the Tencteri (iv. 64), or when it appealed for the help of Cerealis (iv. 79). Mainz was as clearly not a captured camp, when the Ala Picentina took refuge there (iv. 62), while Tacitus expressly says that Mogontiacum and Vindonissa were not burnt with the other camps (iv. 61).

Of slips or misprints, I have only noticed two. Legio I. Italica is in a footnote on page 167 mentioned as one of the legions of Lower Germany, while on page 278 Novaesium is described as 'north' of Vetera.

I only wish that all books were printed in the large clear type in which Messrs. Macmillan have presented Mr. Henderson's work. It is the only book which I have been able to read through myself during the past three years.

E. G. HARDY.

BIANCA BRUNO'S *THIRD SAMNITE WAR*.

BIANCA BRUNO, *La terza guerra Sannitica*, (*Studi di storia antica*, pubblicati da Giulio Beloch, fascicolo vi.). Rome: Loescher, 1906. Pp. 122. Lire 5.50.

THE book before us is a careful history of the Third Samnite War and the few years immediately preceding it (304–290 B.C.). The only continuous narrative of this war is Livy ix. 45 to end, x., and *Per.* xi., so that the book practically resolves itself into an analysis of the Livian account, as presented in Livy himself and the epitomists. Outside Livy the only sources available are the epitaph of Scipio Barbatus (*C.I.L.* i. p. 16), a few incidental notices in Frontinus, Valerius Maximus, and the *de uiris illustribus*, a sentence or two in Pliny, Cicero, etc., and the *Fasti Triumphales*. The writer shows a very keen eye for any fragment of evidence which may be used to correct or to fill up the Livian narrative. To a certain extent the *Fasti Triumphales* are valuable in this respect; they sometimes give help towards discarding some of the grosser inconsistencies of Livy. Unfortunately they are not much nearer the truth, dating as they do from 12 B.C. They reflect the same tendencies as Livy's narrative; exaggeration, glorification of self, family and country have played havoc with dull fact; one would hesitate to say that they drew from sources purer than, or even different from those available to Livy.

Thus for her main theory Bianca Bruno relies on such few and faint glimpses of an older and truer version as may be caught sight of through the thick overlay of annalistic tradition. This theory may be shortly stated: in very early historical accounts there was a constant verbal confusion between *Sabini* and *Samnites*; the greater importance of the conflict with the Samnites almost completely obscured that with the Sabines; a true reconstruction of the Third Samnite war would make the Sabines very prominent; in fact, it is by no means certain that they did not begin the war, yet, owing largely to the verbal confusion mentioned, their action as enemies of Rome only appears late in the war, and then obscurely, *e.g.* in Liv. *Per.* xi., Oros. iii. 22, 11, Flor. i. 15, *auctor de uir illustr.* 33. 3 (*M. Curius Dentatus*), Cic. *Cato m.* 16, 55; Apul. *de mag.* 17. The supposition that the hostility of the Sabines to Rome should be thrown back to the beginning of the war, is attractive and seems to have grown from the author's thorough examination of the sources, not to have been preconceived and then propped up by selected quotations. Perhaps she shows a tendency to work her idea rather hard, but on the whole it presents itself as a very reasonable solution of many difficulties in the Livian narrative.

As she notes, the geographical position of the Sabines would ensure the necessary connection between the war in the north, where Gauls and Etruscans were attacking Rome, and that in the south, where the Samnites were fighting. Moreover, if the initiative in forcing on this war is attributed to the Sabines, it is easier to understand how the Samnites came to break the peace of 304 B.C.; they must have been greatly exhausted by the tremendous struggle of the Second Samnite War, but could not resist the temptation of striking one more blow for freedom when another nation gave the signal.

Perhaps even the writer would not claim that her book had finally solved the problem round which it centres; such reconstructions of ancient narrative run the risk of being discarded, as soon as a newer or better idea occurs to some other critic. For the sake of clearness we could have wished that she had summed up her results more definitely at the end of each chapter.

There is an appendix on the chronology of Polybius during the Gallic wars.

LOUISE E. MATTHAEL.

A SKETCH BOOK OF ANCIENT ROME (OF THE SCHOOL OF DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO).

Codex Escorialensis, ein Skizzenbuch aus der Werkstatt Domenico Ghirlandaio's, unter Mitwirkung von CHRISTIAN HÜLSEN und ADOLF MICHAELIS, herausgegeben von HERMANN EGGER. (Sonderschriften des oesterr. archäol. Instituts in Wien, iv. 1906.) 2 vols. 4to. I. Text: 174 pp. with 3 plates and 70 illustrations in the text. II. Plates: 70 plates with 137 illustrations.

THE publication in facsimile of the more important drawings of Renaissance artists which have relation to the antiquities of Rome has been one of the features of the study of Roman archaeology and topography in recent years. It is in this manner that *rapprochements* can best be made between these various drawings, which are scattered over the museums and libraries of Europe, and the monuments which they represent, and the perusal of such a work as Prof. Hülsen's concluding volume of Jordan's *Topographie der Stadt Rom* (C.R. 1908, 154 *sqq.*) will show the utility of such publications, while their interest as showing the development of these artists themselves, and informing us what were the objects of their study, is no less great. Among them, that of the book of drawings attributed to Andreas Coner in the Soane Museum (*Papers of the British School at Rome*, ii. (1904)) by the present writer brought before the public a series hitherto unknown. That the attribution, though only put forward tentatively, is impossible, has been demonstrated to my satisfaction by Herr Egger himself in a review in *Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen* (*Beiblatt der Mitteilungen des Instituts für österr. Geschichtsforschung*, 1906, No. 3). Coner, as the inventory of his books shows, was a priest and a considerable scholar, to whom the numerous errors in the Latinity of the text to the drawings themselves cannot be attributed. It seems also clear that Herr Egger is correct in his statement that the drawings, as we have them, are not originals (neither those of the first nor of the second hand), but go back to older collections. This is indicated by the fact that several of the plans and profiles are to be found in other contemporary collections of drawings, *e.g.* the Codex Barberinianus of Giuliano da Sangallo, so closely resembling those of the so-called Coner as to indicate their derivation from a common archetype, and by the incorrect copying of some of the legends, obviously by one who did not understand them, which makes it difficult to suppose that this was itself the archetype.

I have referred to these points, because the case in regard to the Codex

Escorialensis is identical. There, too, the draughtsman is only a copyist, as similar indications show. Herr Egger has, by a series of very careful comparisons, demonstrated that he was a scholar of Domenico Ghirlandaio, and that some of the originals he copied were probably the architectural drawings and sketches of buildings made at Rome, as Vasari tells us, by his master (pp. 35 *sqq.*). (That Michelangelo, as Condivi tells us in a passage cited by Herr Egger, unsuccessfully (*sic*) attempted to borrow Domenico's sketch-book, is an interesting point.) His identity cannot, however, be more closely determined, as there is not a single independent conception by him in the whole book (p. 47).

The drawings of plans, and details of architecture and ornamentation and some of those of ancient sculptures, are equally taken from older pattern-books, the authorship of which it has not as yet been possible to determine. The date of the sketch-book itself is not earlier than 1491, the year given on an ornamental pilaster on f. 50v. It is thus some 25 years earlier than the Coner drawings, and is almost the first of its kind which has come down to us. The most important drawings in it are, undoubtedly, the views of Rome, which date from about this period, and are especially interesting in comparison with those drawn by Heemskerck some 40 years later. Some of them have been already published separately by Müntz and Hülsen.

The drawings are, from p. 57 onwards, carefully described in detail—Herr Egger himself, who is entirely responsible for the introduction (pp. 5–56) dealing with those of architectural or artistic interest, Prof. Hülsen with many of the views of Rome, Prof. Michaelis with the sculptures. The combination of specialists is indeed a fortunate one, and the responsibility for the respective sections is clearly apportioned in a table at the end, which also shows when the drawing is taken from another drawing, and when direct from the original. The drawings themselves are fully reproduced in vol. ii., while in vol. i. we find numerous illustrations from other drawings or engravings which form parallels to those of the codex under notice. We may note the following as more especially interesting :

- Fol.* 7. The view of the interior of the mausoleum of Constantia (S. Costanza near S. Agnese), with its decorations as they were before the restoration of 1620—in the lower zone marble intarsia like that of the basilica of Junius Bassus.
- Fol.* 7 v., 8. Panorama of Rome from Monte Mario, especially interesting in comparison with the later panoramas from the same point by Heemskerck and Wyngaerde. The battlemented tower in front of the Hospital of S. Spirito cannot be satisfactorily identified. The representation of the Vatican palace is interesting.
- Fol.* 10. A detail from the so-called 'volta dorata,' a ceiling in the Golden House of Nero, which formed the subject of a fine coloured drawing by Francesco d' Olanda (reproduced on Pl. III. of the text volume), whose sketch-book in the Escorial will, we may hope, one day also be published by Herr Egger. Other details of ceilings from the Golden House follow.

- Fol.* 15 *v.* has a drawing of a sarcophagus in the church of the SS. Apostoli, with a representation of sea deities, which has since disappeared, and is otherwise unknown.
- Fol.* 23 (3). I do not think the identification of this base with that of the columns of the portico of S. Venanzio at the Lateran baptistery is correct. See Coner (so called), fol. 132 (*a*).
- Fol.* 26 *v.* Interesting view of the castle and bridge of S. Angelo before the alterations of Alexander VI. (1492–5). There is another view of the castle on f. 30 *v.*
- Fol.* 27 *v.* View of the Pons Fabricius and the Tiber island. It is noticeable that this and the last view recur identically in the Codex Barberinianus at Giuliano da Sangallo (f. 34 *v.*) in such a way that a common original for both must be supposed. Figs. 68, 70, inserted at the end of the text volume, and giving two different views of the same bridge from engravings by Willem van Nieulandt in my collection, form further interesting parallels.
- Fol.* 35. Elevation of the apse of SS. Cosma and Damiano, with its original marble incrustation, destroyed probably in 1632.
- Fol.* 40 *v.* View from the northern summit of the Capitol over the eastern portion of the city, with the mediaeval Tor dei Conti in the centre, reproduced on a larger scale in the text volume, pl. iv.
- Fol.* 41 *v.* View of the Colosseum, absolutely identical with a drawing in the Soane Museum (vol. marked 'Margaret Chinnery,' fol. 28). A similar identity is to be noted between fol. 29 of the Cod. Escorialensis and f. 6 of the vol. marked 'Margaret Chinnery.'
- Fol.* 48. Elevation of the Tomb of Bibulus. That in the so-called Coner sketch-book is by the second hand.
- Fol.* 53. Drawing of the Apollo Belvedere, the oldest we have. The text informs us that it then stood in the garden of S. Pietro in Vincoli. Michaelis succeeds in disproving Hülsen's theory that it was found near Marino. Another drawing is on fol. 64, and Michaelis decides from an examination of them that the incorrect restoration of the lower part of the right arm, which already appears here, dates from classical times.
- Fol.* 56. Lower part of a statue of Jupiter in the collection of Giovanni Ciampolini, one of the earliest formed in Rome. Michaelis has succeeded in recognizing the torso in the Naples Museum.
- Fol.* 56 *v.* (reproduced on a larger scale in Pl. V. of the text volume). View of Rome from the Aventine.
- Fol.* 60. Part of a ceiling in the Golden House of Nero—plan only of the compartments. This is more fully represented in Cod. Windsor H. 22 (Vittoria) f. 20 (21 Lanciani) and Bellori-Bartoli, *Picturae Antiquae, Animadversiones in Appendicem*, tab. v., as I discovered this summer.

It will be recognized from this short account that the publication is one of the highest importance, and it is good to know that others will follow it. The Vatican Library, which in 1902 acquired the Barberini Library *en bloc*, is

about to publish the drawings of Giuliano da Sangallo in facsimile, with text by Prof. Hülsen, and there are grounds for hoping that Herr Egger will shortly publish the Heemskerck sketch-books in Berlin. Isolated drawings from these have already appeared in various articles and books, but the issue of the collections as a whole will be of great interest. The British School at Rome, too, hopes to bear its part in making known the treasures which exist in the libraries of this country, and I am now engaged in the formation of a catalogue of the collection of drawings begun by Cassiano dal Pozzo, and purchased from Cardinal Alessandro Albani by George III., which are now in the Royal Library at Windsor—an enterprise for which H.M. the King has graciously given his consent.

THOMAS ASHBY.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

Rheinisches Museum, etc. 63. 4. 1908.

S. Sudhaus, *Die Abfassungszeit des Alexandra*. The last twelve lines bear out the date suggested by Beloch and Skutsch: 1446 sqq. refer to Flamininus and Cynoscephalae. A. v. Mess, *Das 68 Gedicht Catulls*. Allius asks Catullus to send him love poetry of his own composition which will console him and help to reconcile his mistress to him. This last thought is an elegiac τόπος. H. Raeder, *Alkidamas und Platon als Gegner des Isokrates*. 1. Against Gercke's article, *Rh. Mus.* 62. 171 sqq. His interpretation of Alc. 4 and Isocr. 13. 9-12 quite mistaken: it is Isocrates, not an 'old τέχνη' that Alc. is attacking. 2. Gompertz wrong in thinking that Isocrates' Cyprian speeches and *Busiris* display a tone friendly to Plato. H. Rabe, *Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften*. 1. Further sources for the text of Johannes Diaconus. 2. Georgius' commentary on Hermogenes' *σπάρταις*: two chapters edited with critical apparatus based on Pγ, Ya, Vγ. 3. A Madrid MS., once the property of Const. Lascaris, and containing extracts from Christophorus' commentary. L. Radermacher, *Motiv und Persönlichkeit*. 2. Vergil's description of the punishments in Hell. In general, the penalties in Hell are the outcome of popular legend and humour: they were not originally connected with particular individuals such as Sisypheus and Tantalus. In the oldest tradition we find the task of pouring water into leaky vessels assigned to unnamed maidens: its becoming the peculiar penalty of the Danaids is connected with the fact that in folklore eternal water-carrying is the duty of the ἄγαιοι. No need then to decide exactly where in *Aen.* 6. 608 sqq. the transition from ordinary mortal sinners to mythical ones takes place. R. M. E. Meister, *Eideshelfer im griech. Rechte*. Passages from Aristotle, Gortynian Insc., etc., which suggest the existence of persons who confirmed the oaths of the parties to the suit by an oath based on knowledge not of the facts involved, but of the characters of the parties. A. Dyroff, *Caesars Anticato und Ciceros Cato*. Caesar's work described Cato as a man in whom all the Stoic virtues were distorted. Influence of Cicero's work upon Valerius Maximus and in particular Seneca. The Cato poems of the *Poetae Lat. Minores*. R. Reitzenstein, *Die Inselfahrt der Ciris*. The Vergil lines 473-4 and 476. Difficulties arise in the matter (for Minos had no object in seeking Delos) and style (*linquitur* and the *que's* in 476) at the very moment at which the narrative becomes Vergilian. A. Brinkmann, *Die Homer-Metaphrasen des Prokopius von Gaza*. The thought of Homer M. 322 sqq. paraphrased in an anonymous writer in Iamblichus, pseudo-Lysias, Theopompus, Cicero, Lesbonax, Procopius and Nicolaus Cabasilas. *Miscellen*: T. Gompertz, *Zu Herodot* 2. 16. Read ἡ γὰρ δὴ for οὐ γὰρ δὴ. Idem, *War Archimedes von königl. Geblüte?* Explains Plutarch's τῷ βασιλεῖ συγγενὴς (*Vit. Marc.* 14. 7) as a title of rank. J. M. Stahl, *Zu Fragmenten des Euripides*. Emendations of Euripides fragments published by Rabe, *Rh. Mus.* 1908, 127 sqq. (esp. from *Bellerophon*). R. Asmus, *Zur Textkritik von Julian. Or. IV.* A. Brinkmann, *Zu Julians IV Rede*. G. Némethy, *Tibulliana*. 1. 6. 56 *admittas* is used in its regular amatory sense; 2. 2. 7 *Syrio* to be read for *puro*; 2. 3. 71-72: cp. *Lucr.* 5. 962. C. Huelsen, *Ein Vers des Martial und eine stadtrömische Grabschrift*. Confirms Housman's

note on Mart. 3. 93. 20 (*Class. Rev.* 1908, p. 46) from *C.I.L.* vi. 9590, which he believes to be the epitaph of this long-lived lady's doctor: C · MATTIO · LYGDAMO · MEDICO · SATTIAE. K. Meiser, *Zu Juuenal* 15. 90. Read *audi* for *autem*. H. Ehrlich, *König Ogyges*. Ὠγύγιος means 'watery': the *Attic* king an invention to explain Ὠγύγια κακὰ ('the Deluge'): as a constant epithet of Στυγὸς ὕδωρ the word came to mean 'chthonic' and the *Boeotian* king was invented in conn. with the Ogygian gate, grove and hill at Thebes which really got their name from the Furies who were worshipped there as Ὠγύγιοι νύμφαι. E. Nestle, *Stöcke mit Schlangenhaut*. A. Elter, *Zusatz zu o. S.* 472.

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. 21. 9. 1908.

J. Ilberg, *Die Erforschung der griech. Heilkunde*. Some account of the history of the relations between Philology and Medicine, in connexion with the new *Corpus Medicorum*. Soranus. Hints for a history of ancient Medicine. W. Capelle, *Erdbeben im Altertum*. 1. Earthquakes in Greece: the connexion of the Poseidon cult therewith. The hypotheses of ancient scientists, esp. Democritus, Anaxagoras, Aristotle and Posidonius. 2. Earthquakes in Italy. Roman superstition. 3. Earthquakes in other parts of the world. ?Sodom and Gomorrha. R. Asmus, *Eichendorffs 'Julian.'* *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: Wendland's *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zum Judentum und Christentum* reviewed by Zielinski. 'All that great power, wide-read erudition and sure judgment could do for such a theme.'

21. 10. 1908.

E. Weber, *Herodot als Dichter*. Epic breadth of the historian, points of similarity and difference between him and Homer. Comp. of the conversation between Croesus and Cyrus after the release from the pyre with that of Priam and Achilles in *Il.* 22. 372 sqq. M. Wellmann, *Asklepiades aus Bithynien von einem herrschenden Vorurtheil befreit*. Pliny's account of him as a charlatan unreliable. Account of his physiology. B. Warnecke, *Die Vortragskunst der römischen Schauspieler*. Strength of voice *not* helped by the masks. Professional voice-training. Many hints to be found in Quint. and the Terence-scholia. P. Simon, *Die Huldigung der Künste. Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: J. Geffcken's *Zwei griech. Apologeten* reviewed by P. Wendland. 'G. has done a great service. . . . I owe to his work most valuable suggestions.'

23. 1. 1909.

W. Nestle, *Politik und Aufklärung in Griechenland im Ausgang des V Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* The pseudo-Xenophontic 'State of the Athenians' the first attempt at an examination of the influence of natural laws upon forms of constitution. The Sophists laid the foundation of a theory of Political Science, but whereas the views of Protagoras, Antiphon, etc., were not revolutionary, those of the adherents of Natural Law were. Of these, one section (Hippias, Lycophron, Alcidas) pleaded for the majority of weak and needy persons, the other (Thrasymachus and Callicles in Plato, and to some extent Socrates) regard law as protecting an inferior majority against an intellectually superior minority. Sketches of ideal states by Hippodamus of Miletus and Phaleas of Chalcedon. Results of these theories: the oligarchic revolution of 411, the thirty tyrants (esp. Critias), the deaths of Theramenes and Socrates, Caesarism. F. Skutsch, *Sechzehnte Epode und vierte Ekloge*. Ll. 13 sqq. refer to the burial of Romulus and the *lapis niger*: the conception is illustrated by a passage of Julius Valerius (3. 57) in which a prophet foretells that the city in which Alexander is buried will endure for ever. Ll. 49, 50 and 33 closely resemble Verg. *Ecl.* 4. 21, 22: the latter is the imitator, so that the Epode may be dated between 42 B.C. and 40 B.C., and we need assume no

allusion to *Carm. Sibyll.* 3. 790 sqq. A Müller, *Das Bühnenwesen in der Zeit von Constantin d. Gr. bis Justinian*. Deals mainly with mimes and pantomimes, the life and status of the players. R. M. Meyer, *Die Methode der wechselseitigen Erhellung. Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: K. Dissel, *Der Sperling der Lesbia. Passer solitarius*, not *p. domesticus*: στρούθιον μονόζον of Psalm 102 is rendered in the Vulgate *passer solitarius*, and the latter name may have been current in Catullus' time. T. Plüss, *Ein Vorschlag zu Donarem pateras*. Maintains the genuineness, with explanations of the difficulties (e.g. officially the burning of Carthage was due to that city's breach of the treaty made by the elder Africanus, *lucratus nomina*: 'gaining no personal advantage'). Zielinski's *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte* summarised and favourably noticed by E. Grünwald.

Archiv für lat. Lexikographie, etc. 15. 4. 1908.

Oskar Hey, *Wortgeschichtliche Beobachtungen*. The use of *ut ita dicam*, mainly in Cicero, where it accompanies (a) new words, (b) new meanings, (c) *uerba humilia*, (d) oxymoron. Idem, *Zur Assimilation von ct. Coatores* in Corpus 5. 4504, 4505. N. Vulii, *Redire, reuerti, reducem esse*. In Spartian's *Vita Hadr.* 1. 3 *ad patriam redit* the verb is used of a person returning to the country which he has never seen before; so *reduces* in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 96. Th. Bügel, *Ein Fall seltener Tmesis*. In the case of compounds of the form *pseudo-apostoli*, *ps.-christiani*, and compounds of *de*, tmesis was permissible in the time of Ambrosiaster and Verecundus. S. Brassloff, *Ueber den Gebrauch von proinde und perinde bei den klass. Juristen*. Generally, *proinde* is 'therefore,' *perinde* 'according as': occasionally the meanings are interchanged. In Dig. 42. 1. 57 *proinde* appears to have neither meaning, but the passage wants rearranging and it is easy to do this in such a way that the particle has its usual force. But in seven passages of the *Digest* where *perinde*=*deinde* there is good reason to believe the presence of interpolation (by Justinian). P. Rasi, *Manere=esse*. A. Klotz, *Incessare*. Eutyches cites it from Statius 11. 361, where QNg^lfrb present it. In view, however, of the poet's classicist principles, it is not likely that he used the word. Idem, *Die Statiusscholien*. The first Statius commentaries came into existence about 400. About 550 Lactantius Placidus used these for his work on the poets which lasted until Carolingian times, when it was broken up into marginal scholia. These again were collected and written out continuously without the text in Monac. 19482 and the two Parisini 8063, 8064. The scholia enable us to form some idea of the individuality of Lactantius (e.g. traces of rhythmical *clausulae*, attention given to subject matter rather than grammatico-rhetorical points, interested in Philosophy; especially the *pars naturalis*). L. Havet, *Armatus, Bewaffnung*. No Ciceronian ex. in Thesaurus: but see Caec. 61. P. Rasi, *Vōmi Perfectform von vomere?* Evidence for *euomisse* in *Carmen de Pascha* 52 H, supporting *uomerit* in Fronto p. 141 N. K. E. Götz, *Waren die Römer blaublind?* (continued from vol. 14). Discusses *caeruleus*, *aerius*, *thalassicus*, *uenetus*, *caesius*, *liuidus*, *glaucus*, *cyaneus*, *hyacinthinus*. The Romans had a perfectly clear conception of the colour. W. Heraeus, *Obrio und obro*. Evidence from Chiron's *Mulomedicina*, etc. Idem, *Glando*. In Gell. iv 1. 8 *glandem* and *glande* of the MSS. may be a trace of this word (found thrice in verse). Idem, *Zur sogenannten Peregrinatio Siluiae*. Emendations and stylistic notes: accusative for nom. (said by Mohl to be the surest characteristic of Spanish Latin) in 25. 3. 27. 1 (*orationem, septimanas, unum*), vulgarisms, redundancies. Idem, *Crep(a)tura*. *Crepturas* the reading in Schol. Iuu. 3. 196. Idem, *Uter, utris* Iuuencus 2. 373 *utribus*. Idem, *Der Akkusativ nach memor, nescius* and *Lacernobirrus*. The Editor, *Zu den lat. Spruchversen*. Influence of Euripides and Menander on Publilius Syrus. Relation between him and 'Caecilius de nugis philosophorum.' C. Weyman, *Epikerfragment bei Seneca?* Tranq. 4. 5 *stat tamen et clamore iuuat*. Miscellen: W. Heraeus, *Congustus*. Traces of this adj. e.g. in the poem of the Anthology 'De balneis cuiusdam pauperibus.' M. Pokrowskij, *Spätlateinisches*. Notes on the *Thesaurus Glossarum*

Emendatarum. C. Weyman, *Eualere*. Occurs in Vincentius of Lerinum. Idem, *Cumque=quandocumque*. In conn. with Hor. O. 1. 32, quotes an inscription of Pope Honorius 1st (625-638) where *cumque uelit=quandocumque uolet*. *Literatur*, 1907-1908: Lindsay's *Syntax of Plautus*, Peterson's *Verrinae*, Gercke's *Senecae naturalium quaestt. lib. VIII*, Ihm's *Suetoni opera Vol. I* and other books are noticed. *Nekrolog*: F. Buecheler. *Mitteilung der Redaktion*. This is the last number of the *Archiv*.

Mnemosyne. 36. 3. 1908.

S. A. Naber, *Platonica* (contd.). Euthydemus, Protag., Gorg., Meno, Hipp. maior and minor, Ion, Menexenus, Clitophon, Republic. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum*. De rect. rat. aud. 38 B: read *προμηχανώμενος* for *προμνώμενος*. I. M. J. Valetón, *Quaestt. Graecae* (contd. from vol. 16). The Lygdamis inscription of Halicarnassus. Nature of the changes it introduces in the matter of property-disputes: it is evidently directed against the exiles, who could not return within the year and a half mentioned therein. The keeping of definite records must have become a duty of the mnemones as soon as their office became an annual one. Restoration etc. of part of the inscription. K. Kuiper, *De Euripideae fabulae Pirithoi fragmento nuper reperto*. Shews the Euripidean character of the new verses given in *Rhein. Mus.* 63, p. 145. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum*. De cap. ex. inim. util. 92 B. Read *περιστέλλον* for *περιέπων*. H. van Herwerden, *Nouae coniecturae in fragm. Menandrea reperta a Lefeburio*. Epitrepontes, Perikeiromene, Samia.

36. 4. 1908.

P. H. Damsté, *Adn. ad. Statii Thebaidem*. Emendations and defence of the text of Bks. 1-6: e.g. defence of I 87 (*modo digna ueni*), 517 (*ostro tenuis auroque sonantis*), II 135 (*impulerat*), 721 (*deuertis*), III 379 (*auditusque iterum*), IV 109 (*aegrescunt*), 665 (*solem radiis ignescere ferri*), V 30 (*artis toris*), 574 (*peregit*), 692 (*alis*), VI 25 (*labori feros*) and conjectures on II 71 (note on Statius' love for *totus*), III 217, 234, 314, IV 75, 410, VI 53, 79-83, 544. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum*. In Quom. adol. 19 F omit *Ἥλιον* so that *μηνέειν* means 'significare'; in De lib. educ. 10 F read *θείων* for *θεῶν*. C. Brakman, *Ad schol. Bobiensia*. Conjectures (affecting mainly notes on Verrines, pro Sulla, pro Sest., pro Flacc., pro Mil., pro Planc., pro Arch.). H. van Herwerden, *Notulae ad alteram Leeuwenii ed. fragmentorum Menandreorum recens detectorum*. Mainly on Epitrepontes and Perikeiromene. K. Kuiper, *De vocab. τρόπος ui atque usu per saec. VI et V*. The older usage (Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles). The later (Herod—Aristoph.) differs mainly in its tendency to make the word equivalent to *ἦθος*, but they have not yet got as far as the *ἐκάστω τὸν τρόπον συνήρμοσαν φρούραρχον* of Menander. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum*. In Praec. reip. ger. 820 A read *τίμημα* for *τιμὴν ἅμα*. S. A. Naber, *Platonica* (from part 3). Emendations of Rep. III-VI.

37. 1. 1909.

S. A. Naber, *Platonica* (continued from vol. 36). Emendations, etc., on Republic (p. 515 E to end), Timaeus, Critias, Minos, Laws, *Epistulae*, Scholia. J. M. J. Valetón, *Quaestiones Graecae*. III De Inscr. Lygdamensi (continued from vol. 36). J. J. H., *Plutarchus*. In de lib. educ. p. 10 A put a long stop after *καλόν*, and then read *ἐστὶ δ' ἐν οἷς, τὸ νικᾶν βλαβερόν καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς νίκη Κυδμεία*. J. van Leeuwen, *Ad Aristophanis Comici fragmenta nuper reperta*. C. Brakman, *Ad Apulei Apologiam* (continued from vol. 36). Notes and emendations. J. J. H., *Plutarchus*. In de lib. educ. 8 A ejection *ὑπολαμβάνω* and read *τοῖν* for *ὄντων*. P. H. Damsté, *Adn. ad Statii Thebaidem* (from vol. 36). 7. 1 *atque ita*, 98 *lugenti* 'quod praeda sibi eripiat', 134 *pectore* right (cp. 7. 481, 9. 89, 151, 12. 606), 308 *calentem*, 338 *incidere* right (cp. 11. 255,

Ach. 2. 136), 634 *scit fessa manus* (cp. 7. 792), 798 *alius* right (cp. 804 sqq. *mors alia*). 8. 147-8: *reliqui* (taking *rector* as vocative), 154 *more* right. 9. 183 *nunc iam*, 218 *ceu fulmine*, 419 *unaque genus*, 625 *natum*, 747 *efflat faucibus*, 865 *telis dextramque*. 10. 26 *rapti* (for *nigri*), 295 *animas*, 441 *interea uelito*, 743 *agit furias*, 916 *aut iterum*. 11. 242 sqq. The first six lines alone belong to the *nuntius*, 529 *rumpunt*. 12. 5 *raris* = 'left empty,' 430 *renuere*, 547 *semina* right (cp. *Ach.* 2. 89, *Theb.* 4. 212, etc.). J. J. H., *Plutarchus*. In *Praec. reip. ger.* 803 c insert σκώπτειν after κατάρχοντα, 816 A delete καὶ before ἄρχοντα or read for it τὸν, 824 c delete εὐχόμενος. H. v. H., *Tentantur duo loci ex A. Klottii dissertatione* 'Zwei neue Blätter des Perikeiromene.' J. van Leeuwen, *Ad Menandrum*. Notes on *Her.* 45, *Disc.* 168, 192, 455, 451, 494, *Circumt.* 75, 186, *Sam.* 18, 102, 232. Traces iambics in Plutarch's σύγκρισις of Aristophanes and Menander and believes he had before him a metrical composition. v. L., *Ad Aristoph. Vesp.* 1179. Photius s.v. ἀνθρωπικὸς μῦθος to be emended: ἀνθρ. μῦθος] ὁ περὶ ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων ἔχων τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. 'Αριστοφάνης <Σφηξίν. ἀνθρωπίζειται> 'Αριστοφάνης' 'Αμφιαράφ.

Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie. 1908.

4 Sept. E. Drerup, [Ἡρώδου] περὶ πολιτείας (G. J. Schneider), favourable. J. May, *Rhythmische Analyse der Rede Ciceros pro S. Roscio Amerino* (W. Kroll). Volkmann, *Die Harmonie der Sphären in Ciceros Traum des Scipio* (M. Manitius). 'A sound investigation.' G. Pierleoni, *L'allitterazione nell' astronomicon di Manilio* (H. Klingünther), favourable. *Poematis latini rell. ex vol. Herculanensi evulgatas denuo rec.* I. Ferrara (M. Manitius). 'May almost be regarded as definitive.' A. Engeli, *Die Oratio variata bei Pausanias* (A. Thumb), favourable. W. Kunzmann, *Quaestiones de Pseudo-Luciani libelli qui est de Longaevis fontibus atque auctoritate* (P. Schulze). 'Shows diligence but does not further the investigation.' A. Merlin, *Rapport sur les inscriptions latines de la Tunisie* (M. J.). *Ausonia*, Rivista della società italiana di archeologia. I. Jahrgang (J. Ziehen).

11 Sept. D. Baud-Bovy et Fr. Boissonnas, *En Grèce par monts et par vaux*. Avec des notices archéologiques par G. Nicole et une préface par Th. Homolle (A. Trendelenburg), very favourable. W. Brachmann, *Die Gebärde bei Homer* (Chr. Harder). 'Answers a real need.' Sophocles, *The Trachiniae*, abridged from Jebb's larger edition by G. A. Davies (H. Steinberg), favourable. G. Modugno, *Il concetto della vita nella filosofia greca* (J. Ziehen), favourable on the whole. Manilius, *Astronomica*, herausg. von Th. Breiter. II. Kommentar (M. Manitius). 'Fills a great gap.'

18 Sept. G. Nicole, *Meidias et le style fleuri dans la céramique attique* (A. Trendelenburg), favourable. R. Thiele, *Im jonischen Kleinasien* (G. Lang), favourable. O. Fritsch, *Delos*, and O. Fritsch, *Delphi* (G. Lang). 'Interesting to advanced schoolboys.' Cicero, *Brutus*, erkl. von O. Jahn. 5. Aufl. von W. Kroll (H. Steinberg). *Horatius*, herausg. von O. Keller und J. Häussner. 3. Aufl. (H. Belling), favourable.

25 Sept. E. Wittich, *Homer in seinen Bildern und Vergleichen* (H. Draheim), favourable. N. Pavlatos, Ἡ πατρις τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύς (P. Goessler), unfavourable. Th. Wagner, *Symbolarum ad comicorum Graecorum historiam criticam capita quattuor* (Fr. Spiro), very favourable. E. Breccia, *Il diritto dinastico nelle monarchie dei successori d' Alessandro Magno* (Fr. Cauer). 'A careful and thorough investigation.' M. Niedermann und E. Hermann, *Historische Lautlehre der Lateinischen* (Bartholomae). 'To be recommended to all concerned with Latin grammar.'

2 Oct. J. Partsch, *Das Alter der Inselnatur von Leukas* (P. Goessler), favourable. M. V. Williams, *Six essays on the Platonic theory of Knowledge* (G. Lehnert). 'A welcome introduction to the problems of Plato.' L. Venturini, *Tarquinio il Superbo* (Fr. Cauer). 'Arbitrary and subjective, and so not convincing.'

9 Oct. J. Vürtheim, *De Aiakis origine, cultu, patria; accedunt commentationes tres de*

Amazonibus, de Carneis, de Telegonia (H. Steuding), favourable. C. Kukula, *Alkmans Partheneion* (H. St.). H. Wolf, *Die Religion der alten Römer* (H. St.), favourable. *Homeri opera*, rec. T. W. Allen. Tom. III, IV (P. Cauer). 'Has not made a step beyond his edition of the Iliad.' G. Rudberg, *Textstudien zur Tiergeschichte des Aristoteles* (M. Manitius), favourable. R. Bloch, *De Pseudo-Luciani amoribus* (A. Bonhöffer). 'A sound contribution.' A. v. Premerstein, *Das Attentat der Konsulare auf Hadrian im Jahre 118* (Köhler), favourable. *The Loeb Collection of Arretine Pottery*, catalogued by G. H. Chase (C. Koenen).

16 Oct. H. Schiller, *Beiträge zur Wiederherstellung der Odyssee*. II. (P. D. Ch. Hennings), favourable. *Ciceronis Tusculanarum disputationum libri V*, herausg. von Th. Schiche. 2 Aufl. (H. Steinberg). M. Siebourg, *Akropolis und Forum Romanum*. Wandgemälde von M. Roeder (Köhler). 'Do not fulfil their principal object—to represent reality.'

23 Oct. E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*. 2. Aufl. I. 1. *Einleitung, Elemente der Anthropologie* (Fr. Cauer), favourable. K. Rees, *The [so-called] rule of three actors in the classical Greek drama* (F. Adami), very favourable. J. Vahleni, *Opuscula academica*. II. (Th. Stangl). E. Stroebel, *Tulliana*. On the *de Inventione*. 'Very useful work.' A. Hartmann, *De inventione Juvenalis capita tria* (H. Blümner), favourable.

30 Oct. A. Fairbanks, *Athenian Lekythoi* (H. L. Ulrichs), favourable. M. Nilsson, *Die Kausalsätze im Griechischen bis Aristoteles* (Helbing). 'Learned and deserving of thanks.' N. Terzaghi, *Appunti sui paragoni nei tragici Greci* (Helbing). 'Shows thoroughness and diligence.' E. Krause, *Diogenes von Apollonia* (G. Lehnert), favourable. *Glotta. Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache*, herausg. von P. Kretschmer und Fr. Skutsch. I, 2/3 (R. Meister), very favourable. *Supplementary Papers of the American School of classical studies in Rome*. II. By G. H. Allen, Ch. D. Curtis, J. C. Egbert, A. W. van Buren (Th. Stang). Ekkehard's *Waltharius*. Ein Kommentar von W. Beck (M. Manitius), favourable. D. Aiginetes, *Τὸ κλίμα τῆς Ἀττικῆς*. I. II. (G. Wartenberg), favourable.

6 Nov. *The Tebtunis papyri*. Part II. ed. by B. S. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, with the assistance of E. J. Goodspeed (A. Stein). 'A new and priceless gift.' Fr. Helm, *Materialien zur Herodotlektüre* (W. Gemoll). 'To be recommended to all students.' L. Mitteis, *Römisches Privatrecht bis auf die Zeit Diokletians*. Band I. *Grundbegriffe und Lehre von den juristischen Personen* (E. Grupe) I. A. Müller, *Zur Überlieferung der Apologie des Firmicus Maternus* (J. Dräseke), favourable.

13 Nov. W. Luckenbach, *Kunst und Geschichte*. I. *Abbildungen zur alten Geschichte*. 7. Aufl. (Fr. Harder), favourable. K. Witte, *Quaestiones tragicæ* (F. Adami), favourable. *Demosthenis orationes*, rec. S. H. Butcher. I. II. (May). 'Does not show much progress.' M. Barone, *Sull' uso dell' Aoristo nel περὶ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως di Isocrate* (Helbing), favourable. Fr. Reisch, *De adiectivis Graecis in us motionis Graecae linguae specimen* (Helbing) favourable. L. Mitteis, *Römisches Privatrecht bis auf die Zeit Diokletians*. Band I. *Grundbegriffe und Lehre von den juristischen Personen* (E. Grupe), II, very favourable.

20 Nov. *Briefwechsel zwischen A. Böckh und L. Dissen*, herausg. von M. Hoffmann (O. Kern). *Imagines inscriptionum graecarum antiquissimarum*, tert. ed. H. Roehl (O. Kern). 'The third edition shows a great advance.' J. M. Stahl, *Kritisch-historische Syntax des griechischen Verbums der klassischen Zeit* (Helbing), very favourable. *Vergils Gedichte*, erkl. von Th. Ludwig und C. Schaper. I. *Bukolika und Georgika*. 8. Aufl. von P. Deuticke (F. Skutsch), favourable. F. Keppler *Über Copa* (F. Skutsch), unfavourable. *Persi et Juvenalis saturae*, rec. S. G. Owen. Ed. alt. (J. Ziehen), favourable.

27 Nov. *Euripide, les Bacchantes*, par G. Dalmeida (K. Busche), favourable. E. Arndt, *Das Verhältnis der Verstandeserkenntnis zur sinnlichen in der vorsokratischen Philosophie* (A. Döring). 'A serious and careful piece of work.' J. Pflug, *De Aristotelis topicorum libro V*. (G. Lehnert), favourable. G. Gundel, *De stellarum appellatione et*

religione Romana (J. Moeller). 'Deserves approval.' A. Welzel, *De Claudiani et Corippi sermone epico* (M. Manitius), favourable. *Pseudo-Augustini Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, rec. A. Souter (C. Weyman), favourable. *Augustini scripta contra Donatistas*. Pars I. rec. M. Petschenig (C. Weyman), favourable.

4 Dec. F. Emlein, *De locis quos ex Ciceronis orationibus in Institutionis oratoriae XII. libris laudavit Quintilianus* (May), favourable. J. Cornu, *Beiträge zur lateinischen Metrik* (H. Draheim), unfavourable on the whole. Guil. Noetzel, *De archaismis qui apud veteres Romanorum poetas scaenicos inveniuntur in finibus aut versuum aut colorum in iambum exeuntium* (H. Draheim), favourable. P. J. M. Pfättisch, *Die Rede Konstantius d. Gr. an die Versammlung der Heiligen*, auf ihre Echtheit untersucht (J. Dräseke), favourable. N. E. Griffin, *Dares und Dictys* (J. Dräseke), unfavourable.

11 Dec. P. Friedländer, *Herakles* (H. Steuding). 'Stimulating but not reliable.' Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, *The choral odes and lyric scenes set to music* by J. E. Lodge (A. Thierfelder), unfavourable. E. Graf, *Der Kampf um die Musik im griechischen Altertum* (A. Thierfelder), favourable. Plato, *Apology*, ed. by H. Williamson (D.), favourable. Virgil's *Aeneid*, Books I.-VI. by R. Fairclough and L. Brown (D.), favourable. F. O. Norton, *A lexicographical and historical study of Διαθήκη* (J. Dräseke), favourable.

18 Dec. B. Knös, *Codex Graecus XV. Upsaliensis* (K. Busche). 'A valuable contribution.' J. Burnet, *Early Greek philosophy*. 2 ed. (W. Nestle), very favourable. E. Galli, *Per la Sibaritide* (H. Nissen), unfavourable. G. Napoletani, *Fermo nel Piceno* (H. Nissen), favourable. C. Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique* (H. Nissen), very favourable. A. Elter, *Itinerarstudien*. I. II. (Köhler), favourable. A. Naegle, *Chrysostomos und Libanios* (J. Dräseke), very favourable.

25 Dec. Th. Sinko, *Adnotationes ad Euripidis Bacchas* (K. Busche), unfavourable. Fr. Isler, *Quaestiones metricae* (D.). On the paragoge *nu* in Homer and other poets. P. Barth, *Die Stoa*. 2. Aufl. (A. Bonhöffer), very favourable. R. Faust, *De Lucani orationibus*. I (R. Helm), favourable. L. Weigl, *Johannes Kamateros Εἰσαγωγή ἀστοποποιίας* (J. Dräseke), favourable.

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4 Jan. H. F. Hitzig, *Altgriechische Staatsverträge über Rechtshilfe* (Fr. Cauer), favourable. W. Nestle, *Herodots Verhältnis zur Philosophie und Sophistik* (W. Gemoll). 'Shows learning and judgment.' J. N. Svoronos, *Τὰ νομίσματα τοῦ κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων*. IV (H. v. Fritze), favourable. J. Sundwall, *Untersuchungen über die attischen Münzen des neueren Stiles* (K. Regling), favourable. K. Schneider, *Die griechischen Gymnasien und Palästen* (J. Ziehen). 'Shows great diligence and generally sound judgment.' A. Struck, *Makedonische Fahrten*. II. (G. Wartenberg), favourable. Terence, *The comedies*, by S. G. Ashmore (P. Wessner), unfavourable. P. Mihaileanu, *De comprehensionibus relativis apud Ciceronem* (E. A. Gutjahr-Probst), favourable. A. Loercher, *De compositione et fonte libri Ciceronis qui est de fato* (A. Bonhöffer). 'A valuable contribution to the problem.' G. Zottoli, *Lusus Pompeianus* (H. D.). On an inscr. of Pompeii. H. Zwicker, *Wie studiert man klassische Philologie?* (J. Ziehen), favourable.

11 Jan. F. Schulte, *Archytas qui ferebantur de notionibus universalibus et de oppositis libellorum reliquiae* (A. Bonhöffer). 'A sound piece of work.' H. Schmidt, *De Hermino Peripatetico* (A. Bonhöffer), unfavourable. O. Kolffhaus, *Plutarchi de communibus notitiis librum genuinum esse demonstratur* (A. Bonhöffer), very favourable. W. Tschajkanovitsch, *Quaestionum paroemiographicarum capita selecta* (W. Gemoll), favourable. F. Jobst, *Über das Verhältnis von Lucretius und Empedokles* (W. Nestle). 'A useful contribution.' T. Fitzhugh, *Prolegomena to the history of Italo-Romanic rhythm* (H. G.), favourable. T. Steinwender, *Ursprung und Entwicklung des Manipularsystems* (R. Oehler), very favourable. T. A. Abele, *Der Senat unter Augustus* (W. Soltau). 'A useful collection of material.' H. Ziemer, *Aus dem Reiche der Psychologie* (O. Weise), favourable.

18 Jan. F. Bechtel, *Die Vokalcontraction bei Homer* (P. Cauer), favourable on the whole. M. Carroll, *The Attica of Pausanias* (A. Trendelenburg), favourable. Knappe, *Ist die 21. Rede des Gaudentius echt?* (J. Dräseke). 'A worthy contribution.'

25 Jan. *Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900*. III. *Greek and Latin inscriptions* by W. K. Prentice, and *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1904-1906*. III. *Greek and Latin inscriptions*. Sec. A: *Southern Syria*, by E. Littmann. Part I. Sec. B: *Northern Syria*. Part I. by W. K. Prentice (W. Larfeld). G. Thieme, *Quaestionum comicarum ad Periclem pertinentium capita III* (Schneider), rather unfavourable. *Papyrus Grecs*, publiés sous la direction de P. Jonguet (C. Wessely). *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, herausg. von U. Thieme und F. Becker. II. (A. Brückner), favourable. A. v. Velics, *Onomatopöie und Algebra* (O. Weise), very unfavourable. A. W. Sijthoffs, *Unternehmen der Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti* (G. Andresen), very favourable.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL.

American Journal of Archaeology. 1908. Part 2.

1. W. B. Dinsmore: The Mausoleum at Halicarnassos. II. (Three plates, four cuts.)
True knowledge of the design to be attained by following R. M. Smith, Pullan, Fergusson, and Adler; in addition, the knowledge of the exact dimensions of members and elements of design, shews how Pythios followed certain principles of proportion. A useful bibliography of ancient and modern descriptions is appended.
2. J. B. Carter: Roma Quadrata and the Septimontium.
Topographical methods of study of Rome must be corrected by historical. That the Servian City was preceded by a City of Four Regions is shewn by the Calendar of Numa and by the Pomoerium within the Servian wall. Apart from and earlier than this, there is no evidence of Roma Quadrata or the Septimontium.
3. L. D. Caskey and B. H. Hill: The 'Metopon' in the Erechtheum. (Eight cuts.)
Discusses an inscription in Brit. Mus. (*I.G.* i. 322). The μέτωπον (col. 1, line 30) was a projecting interior partition at the S.W. corner.
4. O. M. Washburn: The Charioteer of Amphion at Delphi. (Cut.)
Supports the Cyrenaic origin of the monument against the Syracusan (cf. *A.J.A.* 1906, p. 151), criticising chiefly the views of Pomtow.
5. Archaeological Discussions, ed. J. M. Paton.
6. Bibliography, 1907.

Part 3.

1. G. H. Chase: Three bronze Tripods belonging to James Loeb, Esq. (Eleven plates, seven cuts.)
Three tripods from Perugia, reconstructed by Hoffmann of Boston, all with various mythological subjects (Bellerophon, Perseus, etc.). They date from about 550 B.C., and are Ionic Greek work, whereas the similar bronze and silver reliefs from Perugia are Etruscan imitations.
2. Esther B. van Deman: The value of the Vestal Statues as originals. (Seventeen cuts.)
The majority not portraits but 'shop-copies' of well-known types; not important as Vestal statues, except where portrait heads have been attached.
3. B. W. Robinson: Two new inscriptions from Beersheba. (Two cuts.)
One is of the fourth century; the other, an imperial edict regulating the yearly tax of places and officials in South Palestine.
4. Archaeological News, Jan.-June 1908, ed. W. N. Bates.

Jahrbuch des deutschen arch. Instituts. xxiii. 1908. Heft 1.

1. T. Wiegand: The Hippodrome of Constantinople in the time of Suleiman the Great. (Plate, two cuts.)

Discusses latest evidence for its appearance before 1516, as given by an artist and an architect; the former incorrect in some points; attempts a reconstruction of the colonnade on these lines.

2. E. Petersen: Gleanings in Athens. (Three cuts.)

(1) The Pyrgos and Nike-temple contemporary with the Propylaea. (2) Exact position of Artemis-Hekate, Hermes, Charites, and Chalkotheke on Acropolis discussed. (3) Criticism of Dörpfeld's views on Hellenistic *skene* of theatre.

3. R. Zahn: Hellenistic relief-vases from South Russia. (Forty-nine cuts.)

Describes thirty-seven examples from Vogel collection, mostly of the 'Megarian' bowl type.

Anzeiger. (1) Notice of A. Kirchhoff's death.

(2) Excavations at Lachish (H. Thiersch; nineteen cuts).

(3) Miscellanea (Petersen).

(4) Meeting of Berlin Arch. Gesellschaft, Nov. 1907.

(5) Bibliography.

Heft 2.

1. G. Kropatschek: Pestles and *Pila muralia*. (Plate; fourteen cuts.)

Discusses wooden implements, obviously weapons, found in camp at Oberaden, Lippe; similar to pestles used as weapons in Greek vase-scenes (e.g. Brygos' *Iliupersis*). Since *pilum* = Gk. *ῥαπερον*, these are probably *pila muralia*, used in emergencies as weapons of defence.

2. E. Pernice: Diskos-throwing. (Three cuts.)

Deals with Gardiner's paper in *J.H.S.* xxvii., and discusses movement of legs in throwing.

3. B. Sauer: Nike in the Parthenon Pediments. (Cut.)

Criticises C. Smith's theory (*J.H.S.* xxvii.); Nike impossible in West Pediment, improbable in East.

4. E. Pernice: The Tripod from the Isis-temple at Pompeii. (Four cuts.)

Bronze tripod in Naples Museum, probably from Herculaneum, has been botched up in ancient times.

5. T. Birt: Addenda to *Buchrolle in der Kunst*.

Disputes Pfuhl's corrections and additions in *Jahrb.* xxii., p. 113.

Anzeiger. (1) Annual report of Arch. Inst.

(2) Finds in 1907 (Europe, *except Britain*; Asia; Africa).

(3) Bibliography.

Athenische Mittheilungen. Vol. XXIII. Heft 1-2. 1908.

1. A. Prandtl: Fragments of the Parthenon Pediments. (Four plates; four cuts.)

Identifies seven fragments in Acropolis Museum with pediment-figures: foot of 'Prometheus'; drapery and left hand of Zeus; torso of Erysichthon and head of Athena (W.); fragments of wings from both.

2. A. Frickenhaus: Statue of Athena in the Old Temple at Athens. (Four cuts.)

Not a 'Palladion' type, which was introduced by Peisistratos, but an older seated type with libation-bowl, for which there is evidence in vases, terra-cottas, and inscriptions.

3. F. Noack: Remarks on the Walls of Peiraeus.
Walls shown to belong to fourth century.
4. C. Fredrich: From Philippi and Neighbourhood. (Two cuts.)
Notes on inscriptions.
5. E. Nachmanson: Pre-Greek Inscriptions from Lemnos. (Plate and cut.)
Two inscriptions in alphabet resembling old Phrygian, but non-Greek language, on a stele now at Athens; reading discussed.
6. G. Karo: The Tyrsenian Stele from Lemnos. (Seven cuts.)
Dates the above, by means of relief on stele, as sixth century; style un-Greek, but with affinities to early Etruscan; assigned to Tyrsenians.
7. H. Lattermann: The Architectural Inscription from Athens. (Cut.)
Additional comments and suggestions on that published in *Ath. Mitth.* xxxi., p. 135.
8. C. Fredrich: Imbros. (32 cuts.)
Description of ancient sites, inscriptions, and antiquities (terra-cottas, pottery, coins).
9. R. Pagenstecher: The Athena Parthenos of Pheidias. (Four cuts.)
Publishes clay medallion from Athens, with head of this type; the earliest copy next to the Crimea gold relief; from the top of a Campanian *guttus* of about 300–250 B.C.
10. P. Groebe: Roman Honorary Inscriptions. (Cut.)
Publishes an Athenian inscription to Cn. Pompeius Strabo (89 B.C.), and three from Pergamon.
11. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf: Eleutherae.
Criticises *Ath. Mitth.* xxxii., p. 561 ff; Eleutherae not made subject to Athens in Archidamian War; the Oinoe of Thucydides and Herodotus is really this place, or its successor Melainae.
12. T. Wiegand: Inscriptions from the Levant. (Three cuts.)
Thirty-one inscriptions from Constantinople and Asia Minor, mostly Greek.
13. F. Hiller von Gaertringen: Inscriptions of uncertain origin.
Establishes the origin of some previously published as from unknown sources.
14. *Id.*: Amphorae from Paphos.
Deals with six found in 1903, with names of eponymous priest, maker, and month.
15. K. Kuruniotis: Marble Head from Arcadia. (Plate, two cuts.)
A head found near Phigaleia, the only example of marble sculpture from Arcadia; characteristic treatment of hair; Egyptian influence visible.
16. A. Frickenhaus: Erechtheus.
Erechtheus was conceived as inhabiting the cista on the Acropolis in serpent-form (cf. the Brygos vase), and thus became the protecting serpent of Athena; the Erichthonios child is a later invention of the fifth century.
17. K. Rhomaïos: Potters' Kilns in Kynuria. (Cut.)
The first discovery of a potter's kiln in Greece, belonging to the third century B.C.; form not like Roman, but as depicted on vases; hence those on the Corinthian pinakes are certainly potters' kilns.
18. W. Dörpfeld: Olympia in pre-historic times. (Four cuts.)
The new excavations support the writer's view of the early origin of Olympia; a pre-historic settlement found with remains of dwellings and primitive pottery, but no metal objects.
19. A. Brueckner: Excavations at Agia Triada.
A final exploration of the site, made for a plan, has thrown fresh light on its use for burials in the fifth century.

Heft 3.

1. E. Nachmannson: Inscriptions from Athens. (Plate.)

Publishes list of treasurers of Athena for 349-8 B.C., the first of the kind known; also a unique dedication to the goddess Horme; and two others.

2. E. D. Keramopulos: On *I.G.* vii. 2463 and 553.

3. C. Fredrich: Thasos. (Three plates, seven cuts.)

Topography and remains of the city of Thasos and other sites.

4. F. Versace: The Temple and Stoa in the Amphiaræum at Oropus. (Four plates, seven cuts.)

A full description of buildings hitherto scantily published; the temple Doric prostyle, the stoa also Doric, with a chamber at each end for male and female devotees respectively to sleep in; both date about 390 B.C.

5. G. Kawerau: Tripod-stands from the Acropolis, Athens. (Three cuts.)

Some poros blocks found in 1885-90 not hitherto explained, shewn to be bases for tripods.

6. M. P. Nilsson: Serpent-stele of Zeus Ktesios. (Cut.)

Found at Thespieæ; dedicatory inscription of third century; Zeus Ktesios a domestic god, *sc.* of the store-room, probably the same as Philios and Meilichios; originally conceived as a serpent; may be compared with Pompeian domestic shrines.

7. A. J. B. Wace and N. I. Giannopulos: Communications from Thessaly.

Wace describes pre-historic settlements at Zerelia; Giannopulos gives some additions to Thessaly volume of *Corpus* (*I.G.* ix. pt. 2).

8. W. Dörpfeld: Old Pylos. (Three plates, five cuts.)

Describes three beehive tombs discovered on the site of the Homeric Pylos, dating about 1500 B.C.

9. *Id.*: Pisa near Olympia.

Deals with discovery of pre-historic walls and tombs of the same period as those at Olympia (*v. supra*), confirming the traditional site of Pisa.

10. *Id.*: The Homeric town of Arene.

On the site of the later Samikon are remains of a pre-historic town (late Minoan II. period); this must be the Arene of *Il.* xi. 723.

11. K. Müller: Temple of Artemis at Kombothekra.

Poros building of fifth century recently discovered near Pylos; shewn by dedicatory finds to have been a shrine of Artemis; these include primitive bronzes and terra-cottas, and late Greek vases.

Journal of Hellenic Studies. xxviii. 1908. Part 2.

1. J. P. Droop: Two Cyrenaic Kylikes. (Four cuts.)

2. A. W. Van Buren: Inscriptions from Asia Minor, Cyprus, and the Cyrenaica. (Two cuts.)

3. W. W. Tarn: The Fleet of Xerxes. (Map.)

4. W. Miller: The Marquisate of Boudonitza. (Four cuts.)

5. L. Dyer: The Olympian Theatron and the Battle of Olympia.

6. F. H. Marshall: A Graeco-Roman Bronze Lamp. (Plate.)

7. W. M. Flinders Petrie: The Structure of Herodotus, Book II.

8. G. E. Underhill: Theopompus (or Cratippus), Hellenica.

9. A. M. Woodward: Some Unpublished Attic Inscriptions.

10. J. D. Beazley: Three New Vases in the Ashmolean Museum. (Three plates.)

11. R. M. Dawkins: Archaeology in Greece, 1907-08.

12. A. J. B. Wace: Topography of Pelion and Magnesia (Addenda).

13. D. G. Hogarth: The Archaic Artemisia.

Notices of Books, Rules, Proceedings, etc.

H. B. W.

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JULY 1909.

THE 'MOUNTAIN-MOTHER' ODE IN THE *HELENA* OF EURIPIDES.

PALEY, in his note on Eur. *Hel.* 1301, says, 'The choral ode which here follows, though beautiful in itself, is liable to the charge of being unconnected with the subject of the play.' He adds that the ode 'is both difficult and corrupt.' And as far as I am aware, no one has yet succeeded in explaining away the difficulties, or restoring the more corrupt sentences.

At the point where this ode is interposed, Helen (not the Helen of Homer and Aeschylus, and of Euripides himself elsewhere, but the Helen of Stesichorus, a model of wifely virtue) is within sight of a happy termination of her long detention in Egypt. She has been found and recognized by her husband Menelaus; and she has just succeeded in beguiling King Theoclymenus into a promise to provide the ship in which husband and wife hope to sail home together.

The MS. which is our sole authority¹ for the text gives the ode as follows:

Str. 1.

1301 ὀρέϊα ποτὲ δρομάδι κώλῳ
μάτῃρ θεῶν ἐσύθη
ἀν' ὑλάεντα νάπη
ποτάμιόν τε χεῦμ' ὑδάτων
1305 βαρύβρομόν τε κῦμ' ἄλιον
πόθῳ τᾶς ἀποικομένης
ἄρρητον κόρας,
κρόταλα δὲ Βρόμια διαπρύσιον
ἵεντα κέλαδον ἀνεβόα,

1310 θηρῶν ὅτε ξυγίους
ξεύξασα θεὰ σατίαν
τὰν ἄρπασθείσαν κυκλίων
χορῶν ἔξω παρθενίων
μετὰ κουρᾶν δ' ἀελλόποδες,
1315 ἃ μὲν τόξοις Ἄρτεμις, ἃ δ'
ἔγχει Γοργὼ πάνοπλος.
αὐγάζων δ' ἔξ οὐρανίων
ἄλλαν μοῖραν ἔκραινε.

¹I do not dispute Prof. Murray's conclusion (*Euripidis Fabulae*, I. p. vi. and II. *praef.*) that P (or G) is something more than a mere copy of L.

But as G contributes no significant variants in the passages here discussed, L may for the present purpose be treated as the sole authority.

Antistr. 1.

- 1319 δρομαίων δ' ὅτε πολυπλανήτων
μάτηρ ἔπανσε πόνων
μαστεύουσα πόνους
θυγατρὸς ἀρπαγὰς δολίους,
χιονοθρέμμονάς γ' ἐπέρασ'
Ἰδαίαν νυμφᾶν σκοπιᾶς,
1325 ῥίπτει δ' ἐν πένθει
πέτρινα κατὰ δρία πολυनिφέα·
βροτοῖσι δ' ἄχλοα πεδία γᾶς
οὐ καρπίζουσ' ἀρότοις

1330

λαῶν δὲ φθείρει γένναν·
ποίμνας δ' οὐχ ἔτι θαλερὰς
βoscὰς εὐφύλλων ἐλίκων·
πόλεων δ' ἀπέλιπε βίος,
οὐδ' ἦσαν θεῶν θυσίαι,
βωμοῖς τ' ἀφλεκτοὶ πέλανοι·
1335 πηγὰς τ' ἀμπαύει δροσερὰς
λευκῶν ἐκβάλλειν ὑδάτων
πένθει παιδὸς ἀλάστωρ.

Str. 2.

- 1337 ἐπεὶ δ' ἔπανσ' εἰλαπίνας
θεοῖς βροτείῳ τε γένει,
Ζεὺς μειλίσσων στυγίους
1340 ματρὸς ὄργας ἐννέπει·
βᾶτε, σεμναὶ Χάριτες,
ἔτε, τὰν περὶ παρθένῳ
δηῖω θυμωσαμένῃ
λύπαν ἐξαλλάξατ' ἀλαλᾶ,
1345 Μοῦσαι θ' ὕμνοισι χορόν.
χαλκοῦ δ' αὐδὰν χθονίαν
τύμπανά τε λάβετε πυρσογενῇ
κάλλιστα τότε πρῶτα μακάρων
Κύπρις· γέλασέ τε θεὰ
1350 δέξατο τ' εἰς χέρας
βαρύβρομον αὐλὸν
τερφθεῖσ' ἀλαλαγμῷ.

Antistr. 2.

- 1353 ὦν οὐ θέμις οὐθ' ὁσία
ἐπύρωσας ἐν θαλάμοις,
1355 μῆνιν δ' ἔχεις μεγάλας
ματρός, ὦ παῖ, θυσίας
οὐ σεβίζουσα θεοῖς.
μέγα τοι δύνανται νεβρῶν
παμποίκιλοι στολίδες
1360 κισσῷ τε στεφθεῖσα χλόα
νάρθηκας ἐς ἱεροῦς,
ρόμβῳ θ' ἐλισσομένα
κυκλίους ἔνοσις αἰθερία,
βακχεύουσά τ' ἔθειρα Βρομίῳ
1365 καὶ παννυχίδες θεᾶς.
εἷδ' ἐν νιν ἄμασιν
ὑπέρβαλε σελάνα.
μορφᾷ μόνον ἡὔχεις.

1307: κόρας L: κόυρας (v eraso) G.—1317: ἀνγάων L: αὐλάων G.—1366: δέ L: γε G.

Much of this is untranslatable as it stands. Ll. 1310-1316 are devoid of grammatical construction; and it is evident on metrical grounds that a line has been lost near the end of Str. 1. Still, through the greater part of the ode, we can see or guess the drift sufficiently to construct an intelligible paraphrase; and it is only the first two and last three lines of Antistr. 2 that yield no glimmer of a meaning. The sense may be approximately given thus:

Str. 1. 'Once on a time the Mountain-Mother of the Gods sped over forest glens and streams and seas, in sorrowing quest for her lost daughter, the Maid whose name no man may speak. Then clashed the Bromian castanets, when the goddess yoked wild beasts to her car, [and set forth to seek] her that had been snatched away from the ring of dancing maidens; [and with the Mother went forth] in swift pursuit Artemis armed with her bow, and Athena in her panoply of war. [But Zeus] was watching from Heaven on high, and by his ordinance the quest was doomed to fail.

Antistr. 1. 'And when the Mother ceased from her wanderings in search of her stolen daughter, she passed over to Ida's snowy heights, and flung herself down in her grief amid the rocky thickets deep in icy drifts. Then she no longer made the tilled earth yield harvest for mankind, but wasted the tribes of men with famine, and sent forth no herbage for the pasture of the flocks; and the means of life were failing; the gods received no sacrifices, and no meal-cakes smoked upon their altars; and she stayed the flow of the water-springs, working ruin in her grief for her lost child.

Str. 2. 'But seeing that she had cut off the food of gods and men, Zeus sought to soothe the Mother's sullen mood; and thus he spoke: "Go, holy Charites, and with your cries assuage the grief of [Deo], angry for her lost maiden; and you too, Muses, with your choral songs." And Kypris, fairest of the fair, was the first to take up the clashing bronze that speaks with a voice of the underworld, and the drums of tight-strained hide;—and the Mother laughed, and took into her hands the deep-toned flute, for she was gladdened by the tumult of wild cries.

Antistr. 2. '[. . . two lines . . .] and thou hast brought on thee, my child, the wrath of the Great Mother, by slighting the worship of the gods. (Thou hast angered her; but) great is the appeasing power of dappled fawn-skin robe, and sacred thyrsus ivy-wreathed, and roaring disk whirled high in air, and flowing locks tossed in the Bacchic dance of Bromios, and the night-revels of the goddess. [. . . two lines . . . Thou wert boasting thyself in thy beauty alone.]'

Of the four sections into which the ode is divided, the first three tell a story about a goddess, and the fourth recommends the practice of her cult. That much at least is clear. And the *παῖς* to whom the recommendation is addressed can be no other than Helen.¹

But who is the goddess? That question is answered in the opening words; she is called *ὄρεία μήτηρ θεῶν*. There is no ambiguity about that; she is the 'Mountain-Mother of the Gods,'—that is, the Asiatic goddess who, under various appellations, was worshipped in the Troad, in Lydia, and in Phrygia. And in l. 1324, she is more precisely localized; the place of her mourning is Mount Ida. The Chorus is speaking, then, of the 'Idaeian Mother,'—the Earth-Mother worshipped in the Troad.² And the 'Bromian castanets,' the yoked lions, the escort armed with deadly weapons (ll. 1308–1316), the din of cymbals, drums, and flutes (ll. 1346–1352),—all these things are appropriate to the Idaeian Mother.

In *Antistr.* 2, we have a description of the rites practised by her human worshippers; and these rites appear to be identical with those known to us as *Bacchic*.³ The things mentioned as characteristic of the cult are fawn-skin dresses, ivy-wreathed *thyrsi*, whirling *rhombi*, and Bacchae tossing their

¹ Dr. Verrall (*Four Plays of Eurip.* p. 278) says, 'I think it almost certain that ὦ παῖ is addressed, with playful familiarity, to Aphrodite.' But if no better way to make sense of the ode can be found than to assume that Euripides makes a chorus of Greek women talk to the goddess Aphrodite with 'playful familiarity,' and address her as 'my child,' it would be preferable to confess that the problem is insoluble.

Mr. Pearson suggests that ὦ παῖ is addressed to Persephone. But this also seems impossible.

² Cf. *Soph. Phil.* 391 ff., where the supreme deity of the Troad is invoked: *ὀρεστέρα παμβῶτι Γᾶ, μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Διός, ἃ τὸν μέγαν Πакτωλὸν εὐχρυσον νέμεις, . . . μήτηρ πότιν', . . . ἡ μάκαιρα ταυροκτόνων λεόντων ἔφεδρε*. The mention of Pactolus identifies the Idaeian Mother with the Lydian.

³ Dr. Verrall calls the ode 'Thesmophorian.' But the rites described and recommended in *Antistr.* 2

have no more to do with the ritual of the Athenian Thesmophoria (so far as that is known to us) than with the ritual of Guy Fawkes. It is true that one of the choral odes of the Thesmophorizusae (l. 988 ff.) contains a description of Bacchic rites. But that particular ode has no connexion with the Thesmophorian ritual; and Dionysus occurs in it only as the last of a series of deities successively invoked, who are certainly not the deities to whom the festival belongs. (The names are these: the Olympian Gods in general; Apollo and Artemis; Hera Teleia; Hermes Nomios; Pan and the Nymphs; and lastly, Dionysus.) In an earlier passage of the same play (l. 297 ff.), the *Thesmophorian* deities are formally enumerated: *εἴχεσθε ταῖν Θεσμοφόρων, τῇ Δήμητρι καὶ τῇ Κόρη, καὶ τῷ Πλούτῳ, καὶ τῇ Καλλιγενείᾳ, καὶ τῇ Κουροτρόφῳ, τῇ Γῇ, καὶ τῷ Ἑρμῇ, καὶ Χάρειν*. It is not with such a group of deities as this that the Bacchic rites are associated.

dishevelled hair in the dance 'for Bromios'; and all these things are summed up in the concluding phrase, 'the night-revels of the goddess.'

There is no inconsistency in assigning the rites at one moment to 'Bromios,' and at another to 'the Goddess'; for in the Idaean cult, Mother and Son were inseparable; and these 'night-revels,' like the Bacchic rites in general, were a celebration of the birth of the Son (here named Bromios) from the Mother. In some forms of this wide-spread cult, the Son is more prominent, and in others, the Mother; but wherever we find a god of the type of Dionysus worshipped, we may expect to find the celebration of his birth; and a birth implies a Mother.

In the Asiatic Mother-worship, then, the worship of the Son is associated with, and forms an inseparable part of, the worship of the Mother. The Pessinuntine cult of Cybele is an apparent exception; for in that particular form of the worship, the Son has been ousted from his place in the ritual by Attis, the deified prototype of the Gallus-priests. But that is a variation from the prevailing type.

To the Son whom the Asiatic Mother bore, the Greeks in some places applied the name Zeus (as in the analogous cult in Crete), and in other places, the name Dionysus; and this uncertainty as to the name of the Son was accompanied by a corresponding vagueness as to the identity of the Mother. It might be doubted with which of the Hesiodic deities she had most in common; but in course of time, the name *Rhea* established itself as the generally accepted equivalent.¹

That the Idaean Mother in particular was worshipped with Bacchic rites in conjunction with her Son, is shown by the fragment of Eur. *Palamedes* (Nauck, 589):

οὐ σὺν Διονύσῳ
†κωμᾶν†, ὅς ἄν' Ἰδαν
τέρπεται σὺν ματρὶ φίλῃ
τυμπάνων ἰάκχοις.

And Strabo (x. 469) quotes this passage, together with others from a dithyramb of Pindar, and from the first chorus of the *Bacchae* of Euripides, for the express purpose of proving τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἀποδειχθέντων νομίμων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Φρυγῇ περὶ τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν. 'Phrygia' may be taken to include the Troad, as a part of the Hellespontine Phrygia; and, as Strabo points out, Euripides in the *Bacchae* extends the identification of the cults of Dionysus and the Mother to Lydia also. See especially Eur. *Bacchae* 55-59 and 72-87.

Now all the indications that we have so far noticed might be taken as proving that, whoever the goddess spoken of in the ode before us may be, at any rate she cannot be Demeter, as known at Eleusis and in the Athenian Thesmophoria. Demeter is not a goddess of the barren mountains, but of the

¹ The earliest extant application of the name Rhea to the Asiatic Mother seems to be Eur. *Bacch.* 59. 128.

fertile plains; she does not go forth in warlike guise; she yokes no lions to her car; she never found a resting-place on the snowy heights of Ida; she has nothing to do with fawn-skins and thyrsi, and all the apparatus of the maenad-revels.

Yet on the other hand, we find, in the sixth line of the ode, that the goddess is in grief for a lost daughter; and who ever heard of a lost daughter of the Idaean Mother? The Idaean cult is not a cult of Mother and Daughter, but of Mother and Son; the Mother who lost a Daughter is Demeter. And in all that follows, *so far as the relation of Mother and Daughter is concerned*, the goddess spoken of seems to be Demeter.¹ Her sorrow, like that of the Eleusinian Demeter, causes barrenness and famine; and as at Eleusis, the mischief is ended only when she is induced to smile. But the smile is here called forth by other means; in place of the hospitality of the pious Eleusinians, we have the noisy music of the cymbals and the drums; and in place of the jesting of Iambe or Baubo, we find the Charites and Muses, at the bidding of Zeus, and under the leadership of Kypris, instituting the Bacchic rites to charm away the anger of the goddess. Thus it appears that in this ode Euripides has deliberately fused together two deities,—the Idaean Mother, and the Eleusinian Demeter,—who were commonly regarded as distinct personages.²

Was the identification of the two goddesses suggested for the first time in this ode? Perhaps not absolutely for the first time. We are told that the dithyrambic poet Melanippides, who died shortly before the production of the *Helena* in 412 B.C., said that Demeter and the Mother of the Gods were one.³ The Orphic Theogonia, at least in the form in which it was known to the Neo-Platonists, certainly identified (or partially identified) Demeter with Rhea.⁴ An Orphic Theogonia in some form was in existence in Euripides' time, and must have been known to him. We cannot be sure that his 'Orpheus' contained this particular statement; but it is not unlikely.

¹The name Demeter does not occur in the MS. text; but Δηώ, a shortened form of it, has been introduced by a probable conjecture in l. 1343,—i.e. near the end of the story. However, the presence or absence of the name matters little; the goddess who has lost a daughter is, *in that respect*, identical with Demeter, whether expressly so named or not.

²If and so far as the Idaean Mother was identified with Rhea, it would follow, on Hesiod's authority, that Demeter was her daughter.

³Philodemus *περί εύσεβ.* p. 23: Μελαν(ιππί)δης δὲ Δήμητ(ρα καὶ) μητέρα θεῶν φ(η)σιν μίαν ὑπάρχ(ειν).

Preller-Robert, *Gr. Myth.* p. 651 n. 3, says, 'Die selbe Gleichsetzung (i.e. the equation of Rhea and Demeter) findet sich bereits bei Pindar'; but I have found no evidence for this. The phrase χαλκοκρότου παρῆδρον Δαμάτερος, applied by Pindar (*Isthm.* 7. 3) to the Theban Dionysus, the son of Semele, is not

enough to prove it. The epithet χαλκοκρότου is sufficiently accounted for by the statement of Apollodorus (*Schol. ad Theocr.* 2. 10): 'Ἀθήνησι τὸν ἱεροφάντην, τῆς Κόρης ἐπικαλουμένης, ἐπικρούειν τὸ καλούμενον ἤχειον,—i.e. sounds a gong. It certainly does not appear that Pindar anywhere said that the Idaean Mother had lost a daughter.

⁴Proclus *in Crat.* p. 96: τὴν Δήμητρα Ὀρφεὺς μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν λέγων τῇ 'Ρέα εἶναι, λέγει ὅτι ἄνωθεν μὲν, μετὰ Κρόνου οὖσα ἀνεκφόλιτος, 'Ρέα ἐστὶ, προβάλλουσα δὲ καὶ ἀπογεννώσα τὸν Δία, Δημήτηρ· λέγει γὰρ 'Ρέην τὸ πρὶν εἶδσαν, ἐπεὶ Διὸς ἐπλετο μήτηρ, γενονέ(ναι) Δήμητρα.

Proclus *in Crat.* p. 85: ὁ Ὀρφεὺς τρόπον μὲν τινα τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι τὴν Δήμητρα τῇ ὅλῃ ζωογονίᾳ (i.e. with Rhea), τρόπον δ' ἄλλον οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν· ἄνω μὲν γὰρ οὖσα, 'Ρέα ἐστὶ, κάτω δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Διὸς, Δημήτηρ. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 537.

It is possible that Euripides, or those who preceded him in this identification, may have derived the notion from the cult of Samothrace. We know from Herodotus and Aristophanes that by Euripides' time the Samothracian cult had begun to attract general notice, and many Athenians were initiated in the Samothracian mysteries. Now, according to a tradition which has been traced back to Hellanicus,¹ the cult of the Idaean Mother had been conveyed to the Troad by Dardanus from Samothrace. The existence of this tradition proves (and the conclusion is supported by other evidence), that the rites of Samothrace in some respects closely resembled those of Ida. But on the other hand, Mnaseas² (about 200 B.C.) says that the principal deities of the Samothracian cult were a group of three, whom he identifies respectively with Demeter, Persephone, and Hades. Here we have the same group as at Eleusis, —Mother, Daughter, and Ravisher; and it is probable that in the Samothracian ritual the search for the lost Daughter had a place.³ Of the other Greek writers who give evidence on the point,⁴ some identify the chief goddess of Samothrace with Demeter, and some with Rhea. On Samothracian coins, one of the commonest figures is a goddess, enthroned, with a lion beside her, whom experts name Cybele. But on the other hand, beside the harbour of Samothrace was a temple of Demeter.

It seems then that in Samothrace a goddess was worshipped who combined some of the characteristics of the Idaean Mother with some of those of the Eleusinian Demeter,—that is to say, just such a goddess as is spoken of in the ode before us. And if the Samothracian cult was concerned with a Mountain-Mother who mourned for a lost daughter, we may imagine Euripides saying with regard to this ode, as Herodotus⁵ says in another connexion, 'Whoever has been initiated into the mysteries of the Kabeiroi (i.e. the Samothracian mysteries) will understand what I mean.'

But at any rate the average Athenian, who had neither studied the Orphic Theogonia nor been initiated at Samothrace, must have regarded the story told in the ode as a strange and disconcerting divergence from received traditions. In the time of Euripides, the notion of a Mother and Son, worshipped together on Mount Ida and elsewhere in Asia with Bacchic rites closely resembling those of the Theban Dionysus, must have been familiar to the Athenians; and they may have already identified this Asiatic goddess with the indigenous

¹ Preller-Robert, p. 854.

Strabo 7. 50: ὁ Δάρδανος, ἀπάρas ἐκ Σαμοθράκης, ἐλθὼν ᾤκησεν ἐν τῇ ὑπὸρείᾳ τῆς Ἰδῆς, . . . καὶ ἐδίδαξε τοὺς Τρώας τὰ ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ μυστήρια.

Diodorus 5. 49. 2: Δάρδανον καὶ Κυβέλην καὶ Κορύβαντα μετακομίσαι (from Samothrace) εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὰ τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἱερά.

² Schol. Laurent. ad Apollon. Rhod. 1. 917 (Merkel-Keil): μνούνται δὲ ἐν τῇ Σαμοθράκῃ τοῖς Καβείοις, ὡς Μνασέας φησί. καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν δ' τὸν ἀριθμὸν, Ἀξίερος Ἀξιοκέρσα Ἀξίοκερσος. Ἀξίερος μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ Δημήτηρ, Ἀξιοκέρσα δὲ ἡ Περσεφόνη, Ἀξίοκερσος δὲ

ὁ Αἰδῆς. ὁ δὲ προστιθέμενος τέταρτος Κάσμυλος ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐστίν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Διονυσόδωρος.

Schol. Paris. ibid. (Brunck-Schaefer): τοὺς δὲ μνούντας ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ Καβείρους εἶναι φησι Μνασέας, τρεῖς ὄντας τὸν ἀριθμὸν, Ἀξίερον, Ἀξιοκέρσαν, Ἀξίοκερσον κ.τ.λ.

³ Stengel, *Griech. Kultusalterthümer*, p. 164: 'Auch für den Samothrakischen Kultus ist ein Vorgang bezeugt, der das Umherirren der ihres Kindes beraubten Demeter veranschaulichen sollte.' Conze, *Archaeol. Unters. auf Samothr.* ii. 26.

⁴ See Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 1221-9.

⁵ Hdt. 2. 51.

'Mother' whose temple stood in the Agora at Athens.¹ But the notion that the Idaean Mother, like their own Demeter, had loved and lost a daughter,—this notion, if not absolutely unheard of, had at most only been put forward by a few bold innovators.

Now this is the notion which Euripides has thought fit to set forth in his ode on the Mountain-Mother. He wishes, for some reason not apparent to us, to make his Chorus recommend the practice of the Bacchic rites;² and by way of doing so, he has chosen to invent (or to adopt from some source unknown to most of his audience) a new and original *ἱερὸς λόγος* or cult-myth. He has taken the incident of *the Search for the Daughter*, which belonged to the cult of Demeter, and has transferred it to the Idaean Mother; and he has accordingly given a new explanation of the Bacchic rites, by representing them as instituted to appease the angry grief of the Idaean Mother at the loss of her Daughter, and not (as was commonly supposed) to celebrate the birth of her Son. The new explanation has this much in common with the old one, that both alike, though in different ways, connect themselves with the true purpose of the rites; for their original object was to avert barrenness, and make the earth bring forth her increase. And so, in the cult-myth composed by Euripides, the music of the drums and cymbals is made to serve the purpose of ending the famine caused by the anger of the goddess. It is by these rites that Mother Earth is brought to smile; and her smile means the renewal of the earth's fertility.

But we have still to ask, What was Euripides' reason for inserting this little bit of theological speculation into the *Helena*?

Perhaps he wrote the cult-myth because he happened to be interested in the subject, and then worked it into the *Helena* because he happened to be engaged in the composition of that drama at the time. But this alone is hardly an adequate explanation. There are other cases in which a choral ode of Euripides has no obvious connexion with the plot of the play in which it stands. The ode on the Delphian Apollo in the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, l. 1234 ff., is a good instance, as Dr. Verrall has pointed out. But in that and other cases we can trace some train of thought, however indirect or fanciful, by which the ode may be linked with the story of the play. Is there no such connexion here?

The answer must be sought in the second antistrophe, in which the Chorus drops the narrative form, and addresses Helen directly. The meaning has been obscured for us by the corruption of the text; but there is one sentence which

¹Pausanias, 1. 3. 5, speaking of the Athenian Metroon, says that the statue of the 'Mother of the Gods' which stood in it was made by Agorakritos,—i.e. before 424 B.C. According to Preller-Robert, *Gr. Myth.* p. 651, this statue 'showed the goddess entirely in accordance with the type of the Great Mother of Asia Minor.'

²The ostensible lesson of the ode is 'Perform the Bacchic rites, and honour the deities to whose cult they belong; it will be the worse for you if you do not.' And that is also the ostensible lesson of the *Bacchae*. We know that Euripides in his own person cannot have meant that; but what his real meaning or purpose was, in both cases alike, it is difficult, if not (for us) impossible, to discover.

stands out clear and unmistakeable. Accepting three slight corrections,¹ we read

μῆνιν δ' ἔσχες μεγάλας
ματρὸς, ᾧ παῖ, θυσίας
οὐ σεβίζουσα θεοῦς.

'My child, you have incurred the anger of the Great Mother, through your neglect of the worship of the gods.' That the 'Great Mother' is here the Idaean Mother, we know from l. 1324, where Ida was expressly mentioned as the place of the Mother's sullen mourning. And 'the gods' whose worship Helen has neglected may be taken to signify, or at least to include, the Mother and the Son.

Now, in the preceding ode, ll. 1107–1164, the captive women had been lamenting Helen's unhappy lot; and in connexion with her troubles, and the widespread woes of which she had been the innocent cause, they had spoken, in a tone of mournful and despairing bewilderment, of the inexplicable dispensations of the gods. Why have the Powers above dealt thus with Helen? Why do they deal thus with us all? As the lines stand in Mr. Way's translation,

'Who among men dare say that he, exploring
Even to creation's farthest limit-line,
Ever hath found the God of our adoring,
That which is not God, or the half-divine—
Who, that beholdeth the decrees of Heaven
This way and that in hopeless turmoil swayed?'²

¹ With the MS. reading, *ἔχεις . . . θυσίας . . .* θεοῖς, the words would yield the same sense, but less simply.

² In the MS. the text is given thus:

- ὅ τι θεὸς ἢ μὴ θεὸς ἢ τὸ μέσον,
τί φῆς ἐρευνήσας βροτῶν
μακρότατον πέρας εὐρεῖν,
1140 ὅς τὰ θεῶν ἐσορᾷ
δεινὰ καὶ αἰθεὶς ἐκείσε
καὶ πάλιν ἀντιλόγοις
πηδῶντ' ἀνεπίστοις τύχαις;
σὺ Διὸς ἔφυς, ᾧ Ἑλένα, θυγάτηρ
1145 πτανὸς γὰρ ἐν κόλποις σε Λή-
-δας ἐτέκνωσε πατήρ.
καὶ λαχὴ σὴ καθ' Ἑλλανίαν
ἀδίκως προδότης ἄπιστος [ἄδικος] ἄθεος οὐδ' ἔχω
τί τὸ σαφές, ὅ τι ποτ' ἐν βροτοῖς
1150 τὸ τῶν θεῶν ἔπος ἀλαθὲς εὔρον.

Some of the lines are corrupt; but there is not much doubt about the general meaning. In the first sentence, the essential words seem to be *ὅ τι θεός (ἐστι), . . . τίς φησ' ἐρευνήσας . . . εὐρεῖν, ὅς τὰ θεῶν ἐσορᾷ κ.τ.λ.*; 'Who can by searching find out God?'

The words *ἢ μὴ θεός ἢ τὸ μέσον* are meaningless. We are offered the choice of three renderings: (1) 'What God is, or what he is not (Pearson), or what he partly is and partly is not (?)'; (2) 'What God is, or what the not-God is, or what the half-divine is' (Way, in substance); (3) 'What is God, or

what is not God, or what is intermediate (Paley) between God and not-God.' But each of the three does violence to the Greek language, and at the same time fails to suit the context. There is little hope of recovering the true reading here. But what follows is clear enough. It is the sight of unaccountable reversals of fortune that causes the speaker to despair of discovering 'what God is'; and in the next sentence, the misfortunes of Helen are spoken of as a conspicuous instance. Helen, as the daughter of Zeus, has a special claim on his protection; yet he has forsaken her, and allowed her to incur undeserved reproach and hatred. What are we to think of gods who act thus?

In l. 1147, we may adopt Hermann's correction *κατ' λαχῆθης*. I suspect that the sentence ends at *προδότης*, and that in place of *ἄπιστος ἄθεος* we ought to read *ἄπιστος ὁ θεός*. 'The God is faithless; and I know not, etc.'

Mr. Way translates the concluding lines thus:

'Naught I find certain, naught of man's surmising;
Only God's words have I found utter-true.'

This meaning is obtained by putting a stop at the end of 1149, and inserting *δέ* in 1150. But the last line, thus rendered, is in flat contradiction to the tone and spirit of the whole ode. Surely *τὸ τῶν θεῶν ἔπος* (or whatever that may stand for) must mean, not 'what the gods say,' but 'what men say about the

That is what these women felt about it a little while ago. But they have been pondering over the matter since; and in the ode before us, they announce that they have hit on a solution of the problem. They have discovered a probable cause of Helen's sufferings; she must have angered some deity by neglect to render ritual service. That is a commonplace, from the primary *Iliad* downward.¹

And who then is the offended deity? All Helen's troubles have sprung from Ida. It was on Ida that the fatal Judgment of Paris took place;² and it was from the land of Ida that Paris sailed³ on that ill-omened quest which led to Helen's exile, and her ill repute in Greece. Therefore, it must surely be the supreme Mistress of Ida,—the Mountain-Mother,—that has set the mischief working. Helen must have angered the Mother by some neglect, and this must be the cause of her misfortunes. The argument, if not quite conclusive, is good enough to satisfy a captive maiden,—or a poet playing with theological delusions. Or if a positive assertion of Helen's offence seems more than the situation can warrant, we might avoid this difficulty by assuming that the words *μηνιν δ' ἔσχεσ* . . . *θεούς* are not a categorical proposition, but the continuation of a question asked in the preceding lines. 'Can it be that you have . . . , and incurred the Mother's wrath by your neglect?'⁴ On this assumption, the general meaning of the passage would still be the same, but Helen's error would be more discreetly and tentatively suggested by the speakers.

And if Helen has angered the Idaean Mother by neglecting her worship in the past, it is evident that the way to pacify her must be to perform her ritual regularly in future. The myth told in the ode serves as proof that the Bacchic rites are potent to assuage the anger of the goddess; and that is the inference which is expressly drawn from it at the close: *μέγα τοι δύνανται*—these things 'are really most efficacious.'

And when and where is Helen to fulfil this too long neglected duty? She cannot do so on the shore of Pharos, or on board the ship on which she is about to embark; it is therefore implied that she must do it on her

gods': and *οὐδ' ἔχω* must be taken as governing the whole of the two lines. 'I do not know what is the thing that is certain, nor what of all that is said among mankind about the gods I have found to be true.' That is certainly the substance of Euripides' meaning. Men say the gods are righteous; but the actions of the gods—as in Helen's case—seem to prove them unrighteous. Cf. *Soph. Phil.* 451: *ποῦ χρή τίθεσθαι ταῦτα, ποῦ δ' αἰνεῖν, ὅταν τὰ θεῶν ἔπαινων τοὺς θεοὺς εὕρω κακοῦς*;

¹ A. 64: *ὅ τι τόσσον ἐχώσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, | εἴτ' ἄρ' ὁ γ' εὐχολῆς ἐπιμέμφεται, εἴθ' ἐκατόμβης*. I. 536: *οἷη δ' οὐκ ἔρρεξε Διὸς κόρυη μεγάλοιο. | ἥ λάθετ' ἥ οὐκ ἐνόησεν ἄασατο δὲ μέγα θυμῷ. | ἥ δὲ χολωσαμένη —*. Stesichorus (*Bergk P.L.G.*⁴. iii. p. 215): *οὐνεκα Τυνδάρεος | ῥέξων ποτὲ πᾶσι θεοῖς μούνας λάθετ'*

ἠπιοδώρῳ | Κύπριδος· κείνα δὲ Τυνδαρέου κόραις | χολωσαμένη διγάμους τε καὶ τριγάμους τίθησιν | καὶ λιπεσάνορας.

² L. 24.

³ Ll. 29, 209.

⁴ Cf. Eur. *Hippol.* 141 ff. Murray: (the Chorus is trying to account for Phaedra's sickness:) *ἥ σύ γ' ἐνθεος, ὦ κόρυρα, εἴτ' ἐκ Πανὸς εἴθ' Ἑκάτας ἥ σεμνῶν Κορυβάντων φοιτᾷς ἡ ματρὸς ὀρείας; σὺ δ' ἀμύλ τὰν πολύθηρον Δίκτυναν ἀμπλακίαις ἀνέλεος ἀθύτων πελάνων τρύχη*;—*Soph. Aj.* 172: (the Chorus is trying to account for the madness of Aias:) *ἥ ῥά σε ταυροπόδα Διὸς Ἀρτεμὺς . . . ὤρμασε . . . , ἥ ποῦ τινος νίκας ἀκάρπτων χάριν, . . . ἀδώροις εἴτ' ἐλαφ-βολίαις*;

arrival at her home ; she must (and we are free to infer that she will) institute Bacchic rites at Sparta. And so the ode serves incidentally to account for the origin of the Spartan maenad-cult, and 'Virginibus bacchata Lacaenis Taygeta.'¹

We are told that the *Helena* is light and playful in tone. But I do not find much that is light and playful in the ode which contains the question 'Who can by searching find out God?' And if I have rightly caught the meaning and connexion of the ode which we are now considering, there is a grim irony about the solution offered, that is worthy of Euripides at his best—or worst, as we may choose to think it. Take the two odes together, and we hear him saying—'We unhappy mortals find ourselves helpless in the grip of unknown and merciless Powers, who "kill us for their sport"; and distracted by our miseries and terrors, we persuade ourselves and one another that we can make our peace with Heaven, and secure ourselves against the malignity of fate,—by beating a tambourine!' And with these thoughts, or something not wholly unlike them, passing through his mind, Euripides is capable of so wreathing the thing he scorns with the flowers of his poetic fancy, (or should we rather say, of so dramatically realizing the thoughts and feelings of those who take these worships seriously?) that at first sight he might himself be taken for the devoutest worshipper of them all.

It is only when the general scope and meaning of the ode have been ascertained, that we can approach the corrupt lines at the beginning and end of the second antistrophe with the slightest hope of making sense of them. Let us see what can be done with them on the assumption that the way of explanation here proposed lies in the right direction.

The statement (or question) *μῆνιν δ' ἔσχεις μεγάλας ματρός*, l. 1355, presents itself with startling abruptness; and the two preceding lines must have contained something which prepared the way for it. Those lines, as given in the MS., are

*ὦν οὐ θέμις οὔθ' ὅσια
ἐπύρωσας ἐν θαλάμοις.*

We are apparently told that something wrong has been done,—*οὐ θέμις οὔθ' ὅσια*,—and done presumably by Helen. 'You suffer, therefore you must have sinned:' the argument is not new to us. And the sin has been committed *ἐν θαλάμοις*,—in the marriage-chamber. But what sin can Helen have committed there? She lived a virtuous life with her husband Menelaus in Sparta, down to the moment when she was snatched away by Hermes. If she sinned at all there, it must have been in thought and temper, not in act; she must have been tempted to presumption in the days of her prosperity. Will the Greek words yield any such meaning? Certainly not, as they stand in the MS. The word *ἐπύρωσας* should mean either '*you burnt sacrifices*,' or '*you inflamed with passion*.' But neither of these meanings is consistent with the

¹ Cf. Paus. 3. 12. 7: τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς μεγάλης Μητρὸς (in Sparta) τιμᾶται περισσῶς δὴ τι.

context and the situation. Helen has not, as far as we know, burnt any sacrifices, pious or impious, in her chamber; (indeed, she could hardly do so without risk of burning the house down); and being wholly innocent as regards Paris, whom she has never met, she cannot be accused of having inflamed anyone with passion. Hence we must conclude that Euripides did not write ἐπύρσας. And the sense which the context seems to require might be obtained by substituting ἐπυργώθης. (The word πυργοῦσθαι, as is shown by Liddell and Scott, may be taken as an equivalent to ὑψοῦσθαι or ἐπαίρεσθαι.) 'In your married life at Sparta, you were puffed up with pride; and in your self-confidence, you neglected the service of the gods.'

And what were the things on which Helen had unduly prided herself? As to the first and chief among them, no one who has followed the play up to this point can be in much doubt; for it has been made apparent to us that, even in her present troubles, her thoughts are apt to dwell upon her beauty.¹ She has learnt a lesson from her sufferings (and for that very reason, her friends can remind her without offence of a folly that is past and gone); she talks of her beauty now, only to lament it as a curse to herself and others. But we can easily imagine that in her Spartan palace the 'daughter of Zeus'² had thought of herself more highly than she ought to think, and that her beauty was not the least among the grounds of her presumption.

In the preceding words, ὦν οὐ θέμις οὔθ' ὅσια, perhaps the corruption is more deep-seated. It may be suspected that οὐ θέμις is an explanatory note on οὐχ ὅσια, and has taken the place of something needed to complete the sense. But on the supposition that we have to do merely with faulty transcription of the text, I would propose, as a conjectural correction, which may serve at least to indicate the probable meaning of the sentence,

μῶν οὐ θεμίστ' οὔθ' ὅσια
ἐπυργώθης ἐν θαλάμοις,
μῆνιν τ' ἔσχεις κ.τ.λ.;³

¹ 27: τοῦμὸν δὲ κάλλος, εἰ καλὸν τὸ δυστυχές.

236: τὸ δυστυχές κάλλος.

261-3: τὰ δὲ τὸ κάλλος αἴτιον.

304: αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι διὰ τὸ κάλλος εὐτυχεῖς
γυναῖκες, ἡμᾶς δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἀπώλεσεν.

364: τὰ δ' ἐμὰ δῶρα Κύπριδος.

383: —καλλοσύνας ἔρεκεν· τὸ δ' ἐμὸν δέμας—.

One recalls Electra's words about the *other* Helen (Eur. *Orest.* 128):

εἶδετε παρ' ἄκρας ὡς ἀπέθριπεν τρίχας,
σφίζουσα κάλλος; ἔστι δ' ἡ πάλαι γυνή.

² Her divine parentage also has been repeatedly spoken of in the play, as a thing that might be thought to place her high above other mortals. She herself speaks of it; but once (18-21) with a hint of doubt, λόγος τις ὡς . . . , εἰ σαφὴς οὗτος λόγος; and once (255-9) with a sort of horror; she asks 'Am I

a τέρας,—a thing of unnatural and monstrous birth?' See also l. 45. Others refer to it, ll. 81, 214, 470, 489, 637, 1144. But the old man-servant, with his sturdy common-sense, ignores it, and speaks to Helen (l. 720) of 'your old father (Tyndareus).'

³ For οὔθ' ὅσια, cf. Eur. *Ion* 1501: ἐξ ἐμοῦ τ' οὐχ ὅσια ἔθνησκες. For μῶν used where the speaker fears or suspects that the true answer is *yes*, cf. Eur. *Hec.* 676, μῶν τὸ βακχεῖον κἄρα τῆς θεσπιωδοῦ δεῦρο Κασάνδρας φέρεις; Pl. *Lys.* 208e: ἀλλ' ἄρχει τίς σου; "Ὅδε, παιδαγωγός, ἔφη. Μῶν δοῦλος ὢν; Aristoph. *Ran.* 650: τί τὰτταταῖ; μῶν ὠδυνήθης; Similarly μῆ, Soph. *O.C.* 1502. *Aj.* 179 (ἦ τιν' MS.; μῆ τιν' Musgrave, Jebb).

If the second clause is to be closely connected with the first, as a continuation of the same question, μῆνιν τ',—'and so,'—is better than μῆνιν δ'.

'Can it be that in your Spartan home you were uplifted in sinful pride, and incurred the Mother's wrath through neglect to worship? If it is so, mighty is the appeasing power of the Bacchic rites.'

We have still to apply the test of metre. I start with the assumption that in lyric metre of this type Euripides maintains an exact correspondence of line with line and foot with foot in strophe and antistrophe, but does not always maintain an exact correspondence of syllable with syllable. Strophe and antistrophe must contain the same number of lines; corresponding lines must contain the same number of feet; corresponding feet must be equivalent in time, and are for the most part, but not invariably, identical in form. Thus $\text{—}>$ (the 'shortened spondee') or $\text{—} \text{—}$ (the 'shortened dactyl') or — (the 'lengthened long syllable'), as well as $\text{—} \text{—}$, may occasionally stand in correspondence to — .

The first two lines of the strophe are apparently sound; they run thus:

1337 $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\ \delta'\ \epsilon\pi\alpha\nu\sigma'\ \epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\varsigma$ $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$
 $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \beta\rho\omicron\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\ \tau\epsilon\ \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota$ $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$

The corresponding lines of the antistrophe, in the MS., are

1353 $\delta\omega\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\ \theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\theta'\ \delta\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$
 $\epsilon\pi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega\sigma\alpha\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \theta\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$

L. 1353 is metrically possible,—if we make the additional assumption that an anacrusis may be present in the strophe and absent in the antistrophe; but the divergence is wide. L. 1354 is metrically impossible.

The proposed reading is

$\mu\omega\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau'\ \omicron\upsilon\theta'\ \delta\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$
 $\epsilon\pi\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\omega}\theta\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \theta\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$

This is legitimate.

The ode ends thus:

$\epsilon\upsilon\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \nu\iota\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$
 $\upsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\ \sigma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha.$
 $\mu\omicron\rho\phi\hat{\alpha}\ \mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\nu\ \eta\upsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\varsigma.$

The last three words, taken in themselves, are intelligible and appropriate:— 'You used to plume yourself on your beauty only;' or, in Mr. Way's paraphrase, 'Repent—thou did'st trust in thy fairness alone.' That is a repetition, in more definite terms, of the thing suggested in the first two lines of the antistrophe. But it is impossible that the statement can have been thus abruptly made in a single unconnected phrase; the preceding words, which the copyists have reduced to mere moonshine, must have led up to it.

$\epsilon\upsilon\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$, perhaps, may be a corruption of $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$: 'But when . . ., then you were proudly confident in your beauty alone.' ($\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$, we may suppose, was read as $\epsilon\upsilon\ \tau\epsilon\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$, and $\tau\epsilon$ was then omitted as superfluous.)

As to the intervening words,—in place of $\epsilon\text{--}\rho\beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\ \sigma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$, I would propose

ἔσφαλέ σε λάθα. (Cf. ἡ λάθετ' ἡ οὐκ ἐνόησεν, I. 536.) And ἀμαCIN might be a corruption of ἀμαΘΙΑC. Thus, omitting νιν, we might read the sentence as follows:

εἶτε δ' ἀμαθίας ὑπ' ἔσφαλέ σε λάθα,
μορφᾷ μόνον ἤνχεις.

As far as sense and connexion are concerned, this reading would be quite satisfactory. '(The Bacchic rites are powerful to appease the anger of the goddess; you should seek help through *them*.) But when, through youthful folly, forgetfulness (of your duty to the gods) caused you to fall, at that time you were confident in your beauty alone.' It was ὑπ' ἀμαθίας that Helen erred; she has been taught by suffering since then, and she is wiser now.

But is the metre legitimate? The series of *four-ictus* lines is interrupted by a longer line at 1348 = 1364. On the ground of symmetry, we may expect the long line to be balanced by a second line of the same length. In the strophe, the second long line is to be found, in two pieces, in ll. 1350, 1351 of the traditional text. Putting the two pieces together, and correcting two accents, we read:

1348 καλλίστα τότε πρώτα μακάρων
1349 Κύπρις γέλασέν τε θεὰ
1350-1 δέξατο τ' εἰς χέρας βαρύβρομον αὐλὸν
1352 τερφθεῖσ' ἀλαλαγμῶ.

πρῶτον (Wecklein) can be substituted for πρώτα without altering the metre: and the sense is then unexceptionable.

The metre may be marked thus:

1348	⏏	⏏	⏏⏏⏏	⏏	⏏⏏⏏	⏏⏏
1349			⏏	⏏⏏⏏	⏏⏏	⏏⏏
1350-1	⏏⏏⏏	⏏⏏	⏏⏏	⏏⏏⏏	⏏	⏏⏏
1352			⏏	⏏⏏⏏	⏏	⏏⏏

If, however, it should appear desirable, for the sake of closer correspondence with the antistrophe, to add a syllable to 1350-1, we could do so without detriment to the sense, by inserting προσ- before δέξατο: and we should then have:

1350-1	⏏	⏏⏏⏏	⏏⏏	⏏⏏	⏏⏏⏏	⏏⏏
1352			⏏	⏏⏏⏏	⏏	⏏⏏

Our proposed reading of the corresponding lines of the antistrophe, εἶτε δ' κ.τ.λ., runs thus:

1366-7	⏏⏏	⏏⏏⏏	⏏⏏	⏏	⏏⏏⏏	⏏⏏
1368			⏏	⏏⏏⏏	⏏	⏏⏏

Thus, if we read προσδέξατο in 1350-1, we have as close a metrical correspondence as can reasonably be demanded.

I append a conjectural restoration of the ode, in which numerous emendations recorded by Wecklein (*Eur. Helena* 1898) are included. My innovations are the following: 1304, ποταμίων: 1310, εἰσανέβα: 1313, ζητούσ': 1318, ἄλλα: 1319, πόδα πλανήταν (δρομαῖον δ' ὅτε πόδα πλανήτων Herwerden): 1323, ἃ γ': 1324, σκοπιάν: 1332, ἐξέλειπε: 1342, ὑπὲρ παρθένου: 1344, μοι: 1350, προσ-: 1353, μῶν: θεμίστ': 1354, ἐπυργώθης: 1355, τ': 1356, θυσίαις: 1357, θεούς: and 1366-7. Though many details are uncertain, I think that the meaning expressed by the text in this form is not far from that of Euripides.

Str. 1.

- 1301 ὀρεῖα ποτὲ δρομάδι κώλῳ
μάτηρ θεῶν ἐσύθη
ἀν' ὑλάεντα νάπη
ποταμίων τε χεῦμ' ὑδάτων
1305 βαρύβρομόν τε κῦμ' ἄλιον
πόθῳ τὰς ἀποικομένας
ἄρρητον κούρας.
κρόταλα δὲ Βρόμια διαπρύσιον
ιέντα κέλαδον ἀνεβόα,
1310 θηρῶν ὅτ' <εἰσανέβα>
ζεύξασα θεὰ σατίναν,
τὴν ἄρπασθείσαν κυκλίων
<ζητούσ'> ἔξω παρθενίων
μετ<ῆξαν> δ' ἀελλόποδες
1315 ἃ μὲν τόξοις Ἄρτεμις, ἃ δ'
ἔγχει Γοργώπις πᾶνοπλος.
αὐγάζων δ' ἐξ οὐρανίων
<Ζεὺς ἐδρῶν — — — —>
ἄλλα μοῖραν ἔκραινε.

Str. 2.

- 1337 ἐπεὶ δ' ἔπαυσ' εἰλαπίνας
θεοῖς βροτείῳ τε γένει,
Ζεὺς μειλίσσων στυγίους
1340 ματρὸς ὀργὰς ἐνέπει·
'Βᾶτε, σεμναὶ Χάριτες,
ἴτε, τὰν ὑπὲρ παρθένου
Δηοὶ θυμωσαμένα
λύπαν ἐξαλλάξατέ <μοι>
1345 Μοῦσαι θ' ὕμνοισι χορῶν.
χαλκοῦ θ' αὐδὰν χθονίαν
τύπανα τ' ἔλαβε βυρσοτενῇ
καλλίστα τότε πρῶτον μακάρων
Κύπρις· γέλασεν δὲ θεά,
προσδέξατο τ' εἰς χέρας βαρύβρομον αὐλόν,
1352 τερφθεῖσ' ἀλαλαγμῷ.

Antistr. 1.

- 1 δρομαῖον δ' ὅτε πόδα πλανήταν 1319
2 μάτηρ ἔπαυσε πόνων
3 μαστεύουσ' ἀφανοῦς
4 θυγατρὸς ἄρπαγὰς δολίους,
5 χιονοθρέμμον' ἃ γ' ἐπέρασ'
6 Ἰδαῖαν νυμφᾶν σκοπιάν,
7 ῥίπτει δ' ἐν πένθει 1325
8 πέτρινα κατὰ δρῖα πολυνιφέα·
9 βροτοῖσι δ' ἄχλοα πεδία γᾶς
10 οὐ καρπίζουσ' ἄροτοῖς
11 λαῶν φθείρει γενέαν·
12 ποιμένας δ' οὐχ ἔει θαλερὰς 1330
13 βοσκὰς εὐφύλλων ἐλίκων·
14 πόλεων δ' ἐξέλειπε βίος,
15 οὐδ' ἦσαν θεῶν θυσίαι,
16 βωμοὶ τ' ἀφλεκτοὶ πελάνων·
17 πηγὰς τ' ἀμπαύει δροσερὰς 1335
18 λευκῶν ἐκβάλλειν ὑδάτων,
19 πένθει παιδὸς ἀλάστωρ.

Antistr. 2.

- 1 μῶν οὐ θεμίστ' οὐθ' ὅσια 1353
2 ἐπυργώθης ἐν θαλάμοις,
3 μῆνιν τ' ἔσχες μεγάλας 1355
4 ματρός, ὦ παῖ, θυσίαις
5 οὐ σεβίζουσα θεοῦς;
6 μέγα τοι δύνανται νεβρῶν
7 παμπούκιλοι στολίδες,
8 κισσοῦ τε στεφθεῖσα χλόα 1360
9 νάρθηκας εἰς ἱέρους,
10 ῥόμβον θ' εἰλισσομένον
11 κύκλιος ἔνοσις αἰθερία,
12 βακχεύουσά τ' ἔθειρα Βρομίῳ,
13 καὶ παννυχίδες θεᾶς. 1365
14 εὔτε δ' ἀμαθίας ὕπ' ἔσφαλέ σε λάθα,
15 μορφῇ μόνον ἠῦχε.

In the following metrical scheme, the metre of the antistrophe is indicated in the case of those lines only which are not identical in form with the corresponding lines of the strophe. The divergence is probably admissible in every case.

Str. 1.				Antistr. 1.			
~:	┐	┐┐┐	┐┐┐	┐┐			1
	┐	┐┐	┐┐┐	┐┐			2
~:	┐	┐	┐┐┐	┐┐	┐	┐	3
	┐┐┐	┐┐	┐┐┐	┐┐	┐┐┐	┐┐	4
	┐┐┐	┐┐	┐┐┐	┐┐			5
~:	┐	┐┐	┐┐┐	┐┐	>:	┐	6
	┐	┐	┐>	┐┐			7
~:	┐┐┐	┐┐┐	┐┐┐	┐┐			8
~:	┐┐	┐┐┐	┐┐┐	┐┐			9
	┐	┐┐	┐┐┐	┐┐	┐	┐>	10
	┐	┐┐	┐┐┐	┐┐	┐	┐>	11
	┐>	┐>	┐┐┐	┐┐			12
	┐>	┐>	┐┐┐	┐┐			13
:	┐	┐┐	┐┐┐	┐┐			14
	┐>	┐>	┐┐┐	┐┐	┐	┐>	15
	┐>	┐>	┐┐┐	┐┐			16
	┐>	┐>	┐┐┐	┐┐			17
	┐>	┐>	┐┐┐	┐┐			18
	┐>	┐┐┐	┐	┐┐			19
Str. 2.				Antistr. 2.			
~:	┐┐	┐	┐┐┐	┐┐	>:	┐┐	1
~:	┐┐	┐	┐┐┐	┐┐	~:	┐>	2
	┐>	┐	┐┐┐	┐┐			3
	┐┐	┐	┐┐┐	┐┐			4
	┐┐	┐	┐┐┐	┐┐			5
~:	┐┐	┐	┐┐	┐┐			6
	┐	┐>	┐┐┐	┐┐	┐	┐┐	7
	┐>	┐>	┐┐┐	┐┐			8
	┐	┐>	┐┐┐	┐┐	┐	┐┐	9
	┐	┐>	┐┐┐	┐┐			10
	┐┐┐	┐┐┐	┐┐┐	┐┐			11
┐	┐	┐┐┐	┐	┐┐┐	┐┐	┐┐	12
	┐	┐┐┐	┐┐	┐┐			13
┐	┐┐┐	┐┐	┐┐┐	┐┐	┐┐	┐┐┐	14
	┐	┐┐┐	┐	┐┐			15

1310. <εἰσανέβα> ξεύξασα. The sentence requires a verb; and as ξυγίους ξεύξασα (MS.) is hardly a possible combination, it may be presumed that ξυγίους has been introduced by an error, and stands where the verb should be.

1313. <ξητοῦσ'>. Room for a participle must be found somewhere in the clause; and χορῶν (MS.) can be spared, as κύκλια παρθένια is intelligible without an expressed substantive. Probably therefore χορῶν is an explanatory note which has driven out the participle.

1314. μετ<ῆξαν>. Here again a verb is required; and μετὰ κουρᾶν (MS.) probably comes from a marginal note, μετὰ Κόρην, intended to explain the verb which it has ousted.

1321. μαστεύουσ'. Anacrusis is absent here, but present in the corresponding line of the strophe. The sense is satisfactory in both places. If an anacrusis should be thought indispensable, it might be supplied by assuming a compound προμαστεύουσα, in the sense of 'searching on and on': cf. προῦμαθον, Soph. Phil. 538, and προνδίδαξεν, ib. 1015. The compound ἐκμαστεύομεν occurs in Aesch. Eum. 247.

It is easy to get exact metrical correspondence by writing ματεύουσα here, and ἀν' ὕλαντα in 1303. But we should then have a *three-ictus* line. Can the introduction of such a line here be justified? The form μαστεύων (certified by the metre) occurs in l. 597 of this play.

ἀφανούς. Cf. Soph. O.C. 1557, τὰν ἀφανῆ θεόν, of Persephone. The epithet is appropriate to a deity who has passed away into the underworld; as ἐπιφάνεια expresses the reappearance of such a deity on earth. The word has been corrupted into πόνους through the influence of πόνων in the preceding line.

1323. χιονοθρέμουν' ᾧ γ'. The apodosis should begin at this point; and by reading ᾧ in place of -as (with σκοπιάν for σκοπιῶς in the following line) we are enabled to retain the γ' of the MS.

1325. ῥίπτει. Paley's note justifies the intransitive use of this verb in the sense 'flings herself down.'

1333. οὐδ' ἦσαν. The word ἦσαν is feeble; and the metre would be improved by the addition of a long syllable. Possibly Euripides may have written σὺν δ' ἔστησαν: 'and therewith (i.e. when the food of men failed) the sacrifices of the gods were stopped.'

1336. ἐκβάλλειν, intransitive: she stayed the water-springs from gushing forth.

ἀλάστωρ. The concluding word sums up the meaning of the preceding ten lines. Her grief for her daughter has changed the bountiful Mother into a demon of destruction. Cf. Soph. Trach. 1092: Νεμέας ἔνοικον, βουκόλων ἀλάστορα,λέοντ', ἀπλατον θρέμμα κάπροσήγορον. Similarly, the epithet Ἐρινύς was applied to Demeter in certain cults. Demeter Erinys is Mother Earth in the season when she does not smile. The feminine use of ἀλάστωρ can be justified.

1342. ἴτε, τὰν περὶ παρθένῳ MS. As far as the sense is concerned, no alteration is necessary; the sentence is equivalent to Διοὶ θυμωσαμένη λύπην τὴν περὶ τῇ παρθένῳ ἐξαλλάξατε. (For the position of the article, cf. Soph. Aj. 311, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἦστο πλείστον ἄφθογγος χρόνον. The awkward accumulation of datives might be avoided by reading περὶ παρθένου: cf. Od. 21. 249, ἥ μοι ἄχος περί τ' αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ πάντων.) The corresponding line (1358, μέγα τοι δύνανται νεβρῶν MS.) is also satisfactory in sense; but the metre differs. We might make the lines agree either by altering 1342 into ἴτε, τὰν ὑπὲρ παρθένου, or by altering 1358 into μέγα τοι δύνανται νεβρῶν. A *four-ictus* line seems preferable.

1344. ἐξαλλάξατ' ἀλαλῆ (MS.) is wrong in metre. The word ἀλαλῆ makes good sense; but the occurrence of ἀλαλαγμῶ a few lines below tells against it; and it may have arisen out of -αλλα- in the preceding word. If so, the word which it has displaced may have been quite dissimilar.

1348. καλλίστα . . . μακάρων refers to the Judgment of Paris.

1356. θυσίαις οὐ σεβίζουσα θεούς. Cf. Eur. El. 190 ff., where the Chorus of Argive girls invite Electra to join them in the dance at a festival of Hera: δοκεῖς τοῖσι σοῖς δακρύοις, | μὴ τιμῶσα θεούς, κρατή- | σειν ἐχθρῶν; οὗτοι στοναχαῖς, | ἀλλ' εὐχαῖσι θεοὺς σεβί- | ζουσ' ἕξαις εὐαμερίαν, ᾧ παῖ.

Addendum.

In dealing with the *Helena*, it is impossible to ignore Dr. Verrall's essay on the play (*Four Plays of Euripides*, 1905). His explanation of the 'Mountain-Mother' ode, which differs widely from mine, is bound up with his account of the circumstances under which the play was produced. That account is a brilliant and fascinating piece of fiction; but it is fiction pure and simple. I hasten to add that I do not use the term in any disparaging sense. Fiction may convey higher truths than history; and it may easily be more amusing. Yet after all, history is one thing, and fiction is another. As far as I have been able to ascertain by reading and comparing the *Helena*, the *Thesmophoriazusae*, and Dr. Verrall's essay, the very interesting story he has told us is supported by no single shred or particle of evidence, direct or constructive. The worthy maiden lady residing in her island home off the coast of Attica,—that honest tradesman her father, the retired druggist,—the house-party, and the private theatricals arranged by Euripides, with the assistance of Agathon and Mnesilochus, for the entertainment of the hostess, with the young men from the drug-store called in to take the minor parts,—all this, and much more, is the creation of Dr. Verrall's fertile brain.

Dr. Verrall says (p. 61): 'Our *Helen* was not originally composed for the theatre, nor at the theatre was it first heard. I speak positively, and will justify the assertion. There is ample evidence, internal and external, that it was composed for a private recitation, contemporaneous and in some way connected with the festival of the Thesmophoria,' and so on. And after reading and pondering over the 'justification' which he proceeds to give, I ask myself, with some amazement, in what cryptic sense he can have used the words I have just quoted; and I am tempted to think that he has borrowed something of his favourite poet's inscrutability, and that perhaps he is laughing in his sleeve at those of his readers who are simple enough to suppose that he means what he says.

Regarded as a work of fiction, this essay, like Dr. Verrall's other writings on Euripides, is most enjoyable reading. It is not only that the deftness with which he builds up his card-castles fills one with admiration; but he has thrown out so many illuminating suggestions, that (to speak for myself) I have derived more help, perhaps, from him than from any other writer, in my endeavours to understand this most perplexing of poets. For instance, we owe him our thanks for the suggestion that in some cases Euripides may have first written the text of a drama as it *ought* to run, for recitation or private circulation among a small group of congenial friends, and afterwards deliberately mangled and distorted it, in order to fit it for performance on the public stage, where the original text would never have been admitted. This is a most attractive hypothesis. If it could be shown to be true, it would explain many things which puzzle and bewilder us. We feel that it ought to be true,—that this is what a man in the position of Euripides ought to

have done. But the question remains, *did* he do it? And that question cannot be answered; for there is no evidence.

What I desiderate is some recognition of the distinction between ascertained fact and unverified hypothesis. Dr. Verrall (p. 133) expresses regret that we do not possess more information about such private performances or recitations of dramatic works, as 'can be proved' for the *Helen*, and through the *Helen*, for the *Iphigenia in Taurica*. And 'Aristophanes,' he says, 'testifies not only to the fact, but to the interest of the private representations.' One wishes that it were so; but as a matter of fact it is not so. No private performance or recitation can be proved for the *Helen*, or for any other play of Euripides; and Aristophanes testifies to nothing that has any bearing on the question. For if any testimony, direct or indirect, to this effect were extant in Aristophanes or any other writer, we may be sure that Dr. Verrall's ingenuity could not have failed to elicit it; and he has produced no evidence at all.

To show this in detail would require a treatise as long as Dr. Verrall's. But I will take an instance at random, to illustrate my meaning, and his methods. At l. 1590 of the *Helena*, the MS. reads as follows:

καί τις τόδ' εἶπε, 'δόλιος ἡ ναυκληρία
 πάλιν πλέωμεν ἄξίαν' κέλευε σύ,
 σύ δὲ στρέφ' οἶακα.'

The speech is lucid, and entirely satisfactory,—with the exception of the one word ἄξίαν. Dr. Verrall says, 'The puzzle is, not only that the particular word (ἄξίαν) offers no meaning, but that apparently no conceivable word would fit in.' And starting from this premise, he proceeds to infer:

- (1) that the word is a place-name;
- (2) that it is the name of the place to which the speaker expresses a desire to sail;
- (3) that, whereas the context makes the naming of any place elsewhere than on the coast of Egypt unmeaning and absurd, Euripides, for that very reason, has here thought fit to name a place near the coast of Attica, in order to call attention to the unreality of the whole business; and
- (4) that it may be reasonably believed that 'Axia' was 'either the name of the house itself' in which Euripides' lady-friend lived, and in which the private theatricals were performed, 'or of the place, some knot of cabins, where it lay.'

As to the cogency of the arguments by which these positions are established, I express no opinion. But is it after all so certain that no conceivable word would fit in? Suppose we try, for instance, the word ἄκτιον. 'Let us sail back to the shore'—or, if one prefers another rendering, 'to the point' (which protects the harbour and marks the harbour-mouth). As far as the

sense is concerned, what could be more satisfactory? The word ἄκτιον, as a neuter substantive equivalent to ἀκτὴ, occurs in Aelian; and its existence in or before the time of Euripides is implied by the place-name Ἀκτιον, which occurs in Thucydides.

I do not say that Euripides wrote ἄκτιον. Very likely he wrote some other word, which no commentator has chanced to guess. (For instance, some word of command to the rowers, dependent on κέλευε, would not be out of place; and what proportion of the technical terms of ancient Greek navigation is known to us?) Very likely again, two half-lines have fallen out. But who except Dr. Verrall would have had the courage, first to deny that any conceivable word except a place-name (and, by implication, that any conceivable series or combination of words) would fit in, and then, to build up on the basis of that denial the spacious superstructure which meets our admiring eyes in several pages of his essay?

And this instance is typical of Dr. Verrall's whole procedure. Thus, he tells us that he has not discovered any connexion between the 'Mountain-Mother' ode and the play in which it stands. That is a fact within his knowledge,—and, considering the corrupt state of the text, not a very surprising fact. Thence he infers that there *is* no connexion,—that the ode is, by the poet's intention, wholly unconnected and irrelevant. That is an utterly unwarranted inference. And so he works his way on, through a series of arguments of like validity, to the druggist's daughter, and the 'Thesmophorian' performance of the *Helena* at her country house. It is magnificent, but it is not logic.

W. SCOTT.

SENECA'S LETTERS: NOTES AND EMENDATIONS.

(Continued from p. 43.)

III.

liii. 6. Seneca says that we try to conceal from ourselves the fact that we are ill, and can do this for a time. 'Dubio et incipiente morbo quaeritur nomen, qui ubi ut talaria coepit intendere et utrosque dextros pedes fecit, necesse est podagram confiteri.'

Hense reads *etiam talaria*, evidently taking *talaria* to mean 'ankles,' and this is the meaning which L.S. ascribe to the word for this passage. But there is no other example of this meaning, and the natural one is 'things for the ankles,' such as e.g. the winged sandals of Mercury, which it several times denotes. Now in *Ira* 3. 19. 1 *talaria* are mentioned as an instrument of torture: one thinks at once of the old English 'boot.' And I believe that Seneca here compares the pains of gout to those of the torture chamber. He does this elsewhere: see esp. *Ep.* 78. 19. *Ut* then is perfectly sound: *intendere* I imagine means 'to swell,' as in *Ira* 1. 20. 1 *corporibus copia uitiosi umoris intentis* (dropsical). The omission of an object is certainly strange: it is possible of course that *pedes*, the position of which is a little peculiar, should really stand after *talaria*.

Why however should the swelling of the feet be described by the phrase *utrosque dextros fecit*? A *tibia* whose two pipes were identical in key and note was designated by the name *duae dexterae*. May it not sometimes have been styled *utraeque dexterae*, and Sen., who loves to make a metaphorical use of some colloquial or technical phrase, have used a similar expression to denote feet so swollen that left and right cannot be distinguished?

lxxxiv. 8. Seneca is enforcing the importance of assimilating what we read: '(animus noster) omnia quibus est adiutus abscondat, ipsum tantum ostendat quod effecit.' Upon this his interlocutor objects: 'Quid ergo? non intellegetur cuius imiteris orationem, cuius argumentationem, cuius sententias?' And Seneca replies 'Puto aliquando ne intellegi quidem posse, si magni uiri † necenii omnibus quae ex quo uelut exemplaria traxit formam suam impressit ut in unitatem illa competant.'

So practically the best MSS. That *exemplari* must be read, with *s*, seems

clear. But it is not easy to see what force *uelut* has before it, whilst the use of *quo* for *quoque* is most objectionable. I propose 'ex quo uoluit exemplari.'

As Hense follows Haase in reading *nec enim* with one of the good MSS. and assuming a lacuna before the phrase, it may be well to defend the reading of s, *magni uir ingenii*. The confusion of *c* and *g* is common in the MSS., whilst the phrase occurs in 114. 4 (where *A*, and *B* originally, have *uiri*), and makes good sense here. Seneca's opponent says, 'Aren't we to know who your model is?' and Seneca replies, 'Surely, when a man of genius has used various models, giving the loans a dress of his own, it is no uncommon thing for us to be unable to say definitely at a given moment whose thoughts he is reproducing.' One thinks at once of Vergil: possibly Seneca did. And Ruhkopf actually conjectures *Virgilii* for *uiri*.

§ 9. Seneca continues: 'Non uidēs quam multorum uocibus chorus constet? unus tamen ex omnibus redditur: aliqua illic acuta est, aliqua grauis, aliqua media.'

Hense prints this without comment. But *unus* could only refer to *chorus*, and its clause would then simply repeat the previous one. Ruhkopf (on what authority I cannot now say) inserts *sonus* before *redditur*, but the '*aliqua*'s of the next clause show that the subject of *redditur* is *uox*: indeed, Macrobius citing the passage with many slight divergencies (probably due to slips of memory) writes *una*. I propose *unius*: 'out of all these voices comes that which seems to be but one man's song.' Cp. Luc. 7. 571 'nox ingens scelerum et caedes oriuntur, et instar | immensae uocis gemitus,' Tennyson, 'rose . . . as it were one voice, an agony of lamentation.'

lxxxvi. 12. Seneca is addressing a fashionable man, and has just broken the news to him that his forefathers took a complete bath only once a week. 'Hoc loco dicet † aliquotis liquet mihi immundissimos fuisse.'

That *dicet aliquis* is involved is obvious, but something more must lie embedded in the corrupt word. Against Hense's 'olim liquet etc.' is the *sense*: *olim*, which must go with *liquet*, could only mean 'for a long time' (as often in Seneca), and this does not suit the situation. Seneca's interlocutor is shocked and surprised: here has he been venerating a line of ancestors who now turn out to have been 'a dirty lot.' I propose '*hoc liquet mihi*.' In three out of six other passages in which I have noted the use of *liquet* with Acc. and Inf. in Seneca, there is an introductory *hoc* of this kind (see *Epp.* 16. 1, 50. 3, 71. 5). (*H*)*oc* may have been omitted and afterwards written above *aliquis*: the scribe of one of VM's common ancestors inserted it before, instead of after, the *-is* of the pronoun, reading the '*c*' as a '*t*.'

lxxxvii. 2. Seneca is travelling without ceremony, without much baggage: 'de prandio nihil detrahi potuit; paratum fuit non magis (h)ora.'

Hense's note tells us that the last clause means 'paratum fuit una non magis hora,' i.e. presumably 'did not take an hour to prepare.' But, apart from

the Latinity of this, *prandium* is not a heavy meal, and the fact that one did not expect one's cook to spend more than an hour in getting it ready is not very impressive. Seneca constantly uses *paratus* as the synonym of such words as *promptus*, *pronus*, and *facilis*, and I have no doubt that this is the force here: he is thinking of the εὐπόριστος τροφή of Stoic diatribe. He is, indeed, never weary of ridiculing the rich man who needs an army of slaves before he can make a meal: cp. *Ep.* 78. 23 'tumultus cocorum,' 95. 24 'pistorum turba,' *Tranq.* 1. 6 'placet cibus quem nec parent familiae nec spectent' ('few cooks, few waiters'). In 95 l.c. he uses *agmina*, in 123. 7 *agmen* in this connexion, and I propose to read here: 'paratum fuit, non *agminis cura*.' Cp. esp. *Sil.* 11. 284 where Hannibal looks on Capua's banquet through Stoic glasses, 'facilesque coli tanto agmine mensas | damnat.'

lxxxviii. 14. '*Caelestium notitia* is of small value compared with philosophy. Is one to learn it in order that one may feel worried when the planets are in certain positions? Isn't it better to learn "ubicumque sunt ista, propitia esse, non posse mutari."'

So Hense, following Haase, with V: P and Par b read *nec*, and as *mutari* apparently must mean 'change their favourable mood,' this is rather what one would expect. But surely the statement that the planets are unswervingly favourable to us is an extraordinary one. What philosopher held such views? Certainly nothing that Seneca says later justifies our imputing them to him.

The text is evidently corrupt, and *N.Q.* 2. 33 will help us to emend it. Seneca is there describing the Tuscan *ars fulminum*, and divides it into three branches: (1) 'quemadmodum exploremus,' (2) 'q. interpretemur,' (3) 'q. exoremus.' The second branch, he adds, 'spectat ad diuinationem,' the third 'ad propitiandos deos, quos bono fulmine rogare oportet, malo deprecari.' In our passage from the letters it is clear that he has in mind a triple division of the same kind. *Caelestium notitia*, the observation and knowledge of the stars, corresponds to (1) above. It is useless, he says, because at best such knowledge only enables us to foresee danger, helps us, that is, to branch (2). But it is no good to foresee danger which you cannot avoid, and you cannot influence these planets or change their position: i.e. the 'exoratio' of (3) has no scope.

I propose then 'ubicumque sunt ista, propitianda non esse.' The verb *propitiare* must here be used with a neutral force, so as to signify not only the appeasing of anger, but also the retention of favour. And this is exactly its force in *N.Q.* l.c. above.

§ 17. 'ego quid futurum sit, nescio: quid fieri possit, scio. Ex hoc nihil desperabo, totum exspecto: si quid remittitur, boni consulo.'

The use of *desperare* for 'expect' is without parallel, at least in Seneca. That *nihil* refers mainly to evils is clear from the clause *si quid remittitur*.

I propose *adspernabor*. This verb is in Cic. regularly contrasted with *adpetere*

in the sense 'reject,' 'object to,' 'avoid.' I have noted but one example of this use in Seneca, where, however, the context is closely similar to that of our passage (*Ep.* 120. 12 'uir ille perfectus quidquid inciderat, non tamquam malum adspersus est'), and *adspersio* is used analogously in *Ep.* 82. 15, 121. 21, *Ira* 2. 2. 1.

§ 19. Seneca, ridiculing the 'muddled oafs' of the wrestling schools, says 'an liberale studium istuc esse iuventuti nostrae credimus, quam maiores nostri rectam exercuerunt hastilia iacere, sudem torquere, equum agitare, arma tractare. nihil liberos suos docebant quod discendum esset iacentibus.'

This is the usual punctuation. But the construction of *exercere* with an infinitive is very bold. It is just possible that Seneca treated the verb as an equivalent for *doceo* or *cogo*. But the whole emphasis of the passage rests on *rectam*, and the trailing infinitives would detract from rather than add to its clearness. I would put a full stop after *exercuerunt*, with a dash before *nihil* to show the slight anacoluthon, and take the infinitives with the next clause, where *docebant* governs them normally enough. 'Spear throwing, horse riding, etc., that's what they taught their children, nothing that,' etc.

xc. 7. Posidonius believed that philosophy taught early man the arts: 'illa . . . sparsos et aut casis tectos aut aliqua rupe suffossa aut exesae arboris trunco docuit tecta moliri.'

So, except for slight corruptions, the MSS. Lipsius' *cavis* is adopted by Haase and Hense. At first sight, no doubt, *casae* seems at variance with the view that *tecta moliri* was a later art. But as *cava* and *rupes suffossa* would mean one and the same thing, the conjecture does not help much. I think the text is sound: *tecta* means 'a mansion,' and *moliri* is emphatic. Cp. the very next sentence, where Seneca says that he doesn't believe that it was philosophy that invented '*has machinationes* tectorum supra tecta surgentium et urbium urbes prementium.' That Seneca does assume *casae* in the earliest epoch is clear from § 10, where, in describing the men of that period, he says 'furcae utrimque suspensae fulciebant *casam*.' And Quint. 9. 4. 4 did the same. 'If,' he says, 'we must confine ourselves to nature, surely ne domibus quidem casas aut uestibus pellium tegmina (cp. Sen. l.c. § 16) . . . mutari oportuit.'

§ 8. Seneca goes on to ridicule P.'s theory. 'Quid ais? philosophia homines docuit habere clauem et seram? †quidquid aliud erat auaritiae signum dare?'

For *quidquid*, *quid* is generally read, with *s*. But this reads very abruptly, and *et* has to be inserted before it. I suggest 'quo quid': if this were written ^o q ^a the confusion might easily arise. The abl. after *aliud* seems to have been colloquial, the examples coming from Plautus, Varro, a correspondent of Cicero's, Horace (*Epp.* and *Sat.*), and Phaedrus. Seneca has it at least twice: see *Ep.* 74. 22 'negatis ullum esse aliud *honesto* bonum,' and 110. 15 'quid *hoc* est aliud inritare cupiditates,' where Hense quite needlessly inserts *nisi* after *aliud*, with *s*.

§ 17. Seneca's adversary says, 'Yes, but primitive man needed 'calorem

solis aestiui umbra crassiore propellere,' and, he implies, Nature alone could not provide him with such a protection. 'Quid ergo?' says Seneca, 'non uetustas multa abdidit loca quae uel iniuria temporis uel alio quolibet casu excauata in specum recesserunt?'

Hense notes that Buecheler doubted the soundness of the text in the neighbourhood of *uetustas*, and mentions Madvig's suggestion *dedit* for *abdidit*. As he does not obelize, one must suppose that he accepts the reading of the MSS. But something is obviously wrong. 'Vetustas' cannot mean 'lapse of time,' for the 'multa loca' are in the next clause subdivided into caves due to the wear of ages, and those hollowed out by some other chance cause. I feel sure the word stands here, as in *N.Q.* 4. 2. 17, for 'ueteres.' The corruption must lie elsewhere. It was not their place of shelter that these primitive men wanted to hide, but their own persons. I propose <'se in'> multa abdidit loca': cp. V.B. 20. 6 'auersantur diem nocturna animalia, quae . . . abduntur in aliquas rimas, timida lucis.' The falling out of *sein* between *s* and *m* would be natural enough.

§ 22. Posidonius' primitive man learns the art of baking from Nature's processes. 'Receptas in os fruges concurrens inter se duritia dentium frangit et quidquid excidit ad eosdem dentes linguā refertur: tunc uero miscetur, ut facilius per fauces lubricas transeat.'

So the good MSS., but *miscetur* is at present quite meaningless. Some corrected MSS. read *saliuae* before it, and I believe rightly. But *tunc uero* is also highly suspicious: Seneca never uses the combination, and, even if he did, would hardly use it to introduce what is merely the second stage in the process. I believe that *uero* contains the last syllable of 'saliue' and the first of the verb, which was 'remiscetur.' Beyond this I do not tread with certainty, but it is at least possible that *tunc* (written *tc*) is right, and that the scribe, returning to his archetype after copying the word, mistook the 'li' of 'saliue' for this 'tc,' and resumed his copying with the '-ue' that followed.

cvi. 5. 'Have your slaves all run away? Well, think how other people have been robbed, poisoned, accused by their slaves. Quidquid dixeris, multis accidit. deinceps quae multa et uaria sunt in nos deriguntur; quaedam in nos fixa sunt, quaedam uibrant et cum maxime ueniunt, quaedam in alios peruentura nos stringunt.'

The metaphor, a favourite with Seneca, is that of the 'slings and arrows' of Fortune: cp. esp. *Marc.* 9. 3, which will be of some use to us in healing the passage: 'uis tu scire te ad omnis expositum ictus stare et illa quae alios tela *fixerunt* circa te *uibrasse*? . . . exspecta uolnus, et illa superne uolantia cum sagittis pilisque saxa in tuum puta librata corpus . . . exclama "non decipies me Fortuna . . . alium quidem percussisti, sed me petisti."'

The position of *deinceps* is the first danger-signal. Seneca never begins a clause with it; and in 6 of the 10 exx. I have noted of its use by him *alia* or *cetera* (the latter only once) directly precedes. I believe *alia* has dropped

out here, and with it a list of 'tela Fortunae' which one cannot of course restore with any degree of certainty. To show what I mean I suggest: '<morbi, damna, labores, alia> deinceps quae,' etc.

The *quaedam* clauses refer to three distinct situations. In the second, arrows are on their way towards us; in the third, they graze us on the way to others. It is obvious that the first clause must refer to arrows that 'find a billet' in our bodies. But what can be the meaning of 'in nos fixa sunt'? The only meaning I can give the word is 'are aimed at us,' and this is simply a feeble repetition of *in nos deriguntur*. It would of course be possible to get the meaning we want by reading *nobis*, but I prefer *iam nos fixerunt*: cp. the Marcia passage above.

cviii. 22. 'At the beginning of Tiberius' reign alienigena sacra mouebantur.' *Mouere sacra* means to celebrate rites: Seneca surely refers to Tiberius' measures against these 'outlandish practices,' described by Tac. *A.* 2. 85, Suet. *Tib.* 36. I think *remouebantur* should be read: cp. *pellere* and *submouere* ll.cc. *Amouebantur* is also possible.

§ 23. 'I wanted you to see how strong in young men is the instinct for virtue, si quisq; exhortaretur illos, si quis impenderet.'

So the MSS.; *quisq;* perhaps stands for *quisquam*, but in view of the next clause I think we must assume a dittography for *quis*. This, however, is a point of small importance as compared with the difficulty of *impenderet*, for which *impelleret* is generally read, and Hense proposes *incenderet*. But the verb is quite sound. That *impendere se* should be used with a dative to denote using all one's powers to secure something, devoting oneself to it, will surprise no one familiar with the semasiological phenomena of the silver age: that it could be used, without a dative, to mean 'exert oneself' appears from *Ot.* 3. 3 'non nitetur sapiens in superuacuum, nec se nihil profuturus impendet.' Read then 'si quis <se> impenderet.'

cxiv. 10. Seneca is tracing the effect of national character on style, and propounds an interesting theory of the stages by which luxury conquers a people. First, men grow nice about 'corporum cultus,' then comes magnificent *supellex*, next fine houses, and lastly splendid dinners. 'Cum adsuevit animus fastidire quae ex more sunt . . . etiam in oratione quod nouum est quaerit, et modo antiqua verba atque exsoleta reuocat ac profert, modo fingit et †ignota ac† deflectit, modo . . . pro cultu habetur audax translatio ac frequens.'

The obeli are mine: Hense shows no sign of doubt. The omission of *et* or *ac* would give a sort of meaning, but with *fingit* the word wanted is *noua*, with *deflectit* some word like *solita*.

Corruption is here deep rooted. But a knowledge of the ordinary rhetorical rules in reference to the 'uerbum simplex' will help us to set matters right. Cp. e.g. Cic. *de or.* 3. 152: 'In single words grace is gained by three things: aut inusitatum uerbum aut nouatum aut tralatum.' Quint. 8. 3. 24 has a triple

division too: 'propria, ficta, tralata.' That his *propria uerba* are not really very different from Cicero's *inuitata* appears from his at once adding the remark, *p propriis dignitatem dat antiquitas: namque et sanctiorem et magis admirabilem faciunt orationem quibus non quilibet fuerit usurus.* In Seneca we easily recognise the first and third of these classifications: that the second of them is represented by the second *modo* clause is in itself probable, and *fingit* makes it certain. The rest of the clause must get its medicine from Cicero and Quintilian. The former, l.c., writes, in reference to his second class, 'nouantur uerba quae ab eo qui dicit ipsa gignuntur et fiunt uel *coniungendis* uerbis (he cites *uersutiloquus* as an example), . . . uel saepe *sine coniunctione* uerba nouantur (exx.: *ille senius, incurrescere*).' Quint. l.c. § 36 says in reference to this same class: '*deriuare, flectere, coniungere* quando desiit licere?' At first sight it looks as if he were breaking up Cicero's *sine coniunctione* category into two subdivisions, but the process 'derivation' and 'flexion' are really two names for the same thing, word-formation by change of termination, analogy, etc. 'Declinatio' is used in the same way: see esp. Quint. 8. 6. 32.

We can now emend our passage, and read 'modo *fingit et iungit ac deflectit*.' *Fingit* is a general expression, and would include, for instance, onomatopoeic words: *iungit ac deflectit* denotes the special forms which we have just learnt to know from Cicero and Quintilian. Cp. esp. Quint. l.c. 30: 'fingere (uerba) Graecis magis concessum est . . . nostri autem in *iungendo* aut in *deriuando* paulum aliquid ausi,' where too we see that although *coniungere* is the verb used by both writers in the passages cited above, the simple one was also admissible.

cxxii. 1. 'The days are getting shorter: still, there's plenty of time, si quis cum ipso ut ita dicam die surgat. officiosior meliorque si quis illum exspectat et lucem primam †exuit. turpis, qui alto sole semisomnus iacet.'

Exuit is not the only difficulty in the second clause. Its comparatives prepare us for the description of a man who takes a more heroic course than the man of the first clause, who rises 'cum ipso die.' What does this superior person do then? 'Exspectat diem'! The distinction between 'rising with the daylight' and 'waiting for daylight before you rise' is not very great: what difference there is, is surely, so far as heroism is concerned, in favour of the first course. The end of our clause, then, contradicts its beginning, until we insert *non* after *illum* (*illum n̄*). The golden mean, attainable by ordinary mortals, is mentioned first; the course actually taken by most mortals, but meriting the philosopher's sternest reprehension, comes last, and between them comes a counsel of perfection, such as only a man like the elder Pliny could regularly follow (Plin. *Ep.* 3. 5. 8), morning study by candlelight.

For *exuit* I propose *excitat*. This virtuous person's candle is a kind of challenge to the day, summoning it to awake: cp. Ou. *F.* 1. 456, where the cock 'uigil prouocat ore diem.'

§ 15. Seneca is giving one of Pedo Albinovanus' stories, in the famous

raconteur's own words. He lived just above the quarters of one of the class of men whom Seneca calls 'antipodes,' because they turned day into night and night into day. 'About the third hour of the night,' says Pedo, 'I hear him flogging his slaves, about the sixth I hear him indulging in voice-production. About the eighth there is the sound of wheels: he is taking driving exercise. About daybreak comes a general bustle of *cellarii* and *coqui*: they tell me he has asked for *mulsum et halica* (here evidently a preliminary to dining: cp. Plin. *Ep.* 1. 15. 2), and left his bath.' Then follow the words:

excedebat, inquit, huius diem cena minime: ualde enim frugaliter uiuebat: nihil consumebat nisi noctem. itaque credendo dicentibus illum quibusdam auarum et sordidum, uos inquit illum et lychnobium dicetis.

This is the MSS. reading (except that they read *inquit* in both cases and *cuius* for *huius*), and Hense's punctuation, which is responsible for one of the difficulties of the passage. There is no doubt that a sentence ends at *cena*, and that 'minime: ualde enim,' etc., is a comment on, or reply to, it. A glance at such passages as *Epp.* 36. 4, 51. 2, 60. 3, 66. 38, 85. 26, 94. 32, etc. will settle this point. Into another difficulty, the point of the last clause, I do not propose to enter here. MSS. take a savage zest in corrupting the 'best things' of olden times, and they have been at work on this one.

But there still remain two stumbling-blocks: (1) If the first *inquit* is right, Pedo must be its subject. But the tenses *excedebat*, *uiuebat*, *consumebat* make this impossible. Pedo's narrative uses the present tense exclusively: it is clear that the man he is describing is still alive. This is a difficulty which no one seems to have noted. (2) That *credendo* was corrupt the corrected MSS. recognise, and I think Hense, who thinks that it 'poterit defendi,' might have dropped a hint as to how it was to be done. Neither *credo* of *s* nor the *crebro* in Ruhkopf's ed. seems at all satisfactory.

I return to the first point. The imperfects would be natural enough in the mouth of *Seneca*, and I feel sure that Pedo's story ended where my paraphrase above ends, with the words 'a balneo exisse.' Seneca, then, after his custom, makes Lucilius interpose a comment (the words *excedebat—cena*), to which he himself replies: 'Minime: ualde—noctem.' If so, we must read *inquis*, not *inquit*: cp. 70. 26 *inquit* p, -quis V; 71. 21 *inquis* s; -quit VP; 94. 24 *inquis* A (for *inquis*).

And who is the subject of the second *inquit*? Pedo, with the old interpretation, of course: and Pedo it must be, anyhow. Only, if the clauses with the imperfects represent, as the new interpretation assumes, a short dialogue between Seneca and Lucilius, then Pedo's name must have been expressed in the *inquit* clause. No doubt it was, and now lurks in the last two syllables of the obnoxious *credendo*, the first syllable of which is probably the remains of an adverb qualifying the verb *inquit*. In view of such passages as 98. 9 'egregie itaque uidebur mihi Metrodorus dixisse...' and 119. 14 'egregie itaque Horatius negat...' I read 'itaque egregie Pedo...'

The text restored, it remains only to interpret the comment 'excedebat

huius diem cena', and this must be done in the light of § 9, where one of these 'lucifugae' says 'dies publicus relinquatur: let us have a *proprium ac peculiare mane* of our own,' and *Ep.* 83. 14 'Piso used to sleep till midday: hoc *eius* erat *matutinum*.' This fellow's day was other folk's night, and as Peto's story left him about to begin dinner at *daybreak*, Lucilius says: 'Well, then, he didn't manage to get everything into his day: dinner evidently extended beyond it, into the day of ordinary mortals.' 'Well, no,' says Seneca, 'you see he ate so little (i.e. his meal was over before day was fairly begun).'

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NOTE ON PLATO, *PHAEDO* 105 A.

πάλιν δὲ ἀναμιμνήσκου· οὐ γὰρ χεῖρον πολλάκις ἀκούειν. τὰ πέντε τὴν τοῦ ἀρτίου (*sc. ἰδέαν*) οὐ δέξεται, οὐδὲ τὰ δέκα τὴν τοῦ περιττοῦ—τὸ διπλάσιον. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸ ἄλλω ἐναντίον, ὅμως δὲ τὴν τοῦ περιττοῦ οὐ δέξεται. οὐδὲ δὴ τὸ ἡμιόλιον οὐδὲ τᾶλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα, τὸ ἥμισυ, τὴν τοῦ ὅλου, καὶ τριτημόριον αὖ καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα . . .

‘Let me refresh your memory; there is no harm in going over what you have heard several times. Five will not admit the character of evenness, nor will ten—its double—admit that of oddness. Now, *this latter term is actually itself an opposite of another term*, but none the less it will not admit the character of oddness; no more indeed will $\frac{3}{2}$ or the other terms of this series—the ‘half’—admit the character of wholeness, nor yet will $\frac{1}{3}$ and all the other terms of that series.’

The difficulty of this passage lies in the words in spaced type: ‘there is no sense in which the number ten can be said to be contrary to anything else’ (Archer-Hind ad loc.). Hence Burnet, Archer-Hind, Ferrai and others accept Köhler’s insertion of οὐκ before ἐναντίον. This insertion is intended to bring the present illustration (from ‘5’ and ‘10’) into line with the other examples of terms which, though *not themselves contraries*, respectively imply one of two contrary terms, such as odd and even.

The objections to this alteration of the text are: (1) that this fresh illustration, so interpreted, is superfluous; it adds nothing to those already given at some length; (2) καὶ before αὐτὸ <οὐκ> ἐναντίον is not wanted and seems against the sense required by the emenders; (3) the words τὸ διπλάσιον are superfluous and irrelevant; (4) ἄλλω οὐκ ἐναντίον is unusual Greek for ‘not contrary to any other’; οὐδενὶ would be better than οὐκ.

I hold that the text is sound. Plato’s fresh illustration from 5 and 10 adds a complication not present in his former illustration from 2 and 3, which are expressly said not to be ‘contraries’ (104 C). The number 5, considered as the *half* of 10, may be called ‘contrary’ to the number 10, considered as the *double* of 5. (τὸ διπλάσιον and τὸ ἥμισυ are opposed as ‘contraries’ (ἐναντία) like ‘great’ and ‘small,’ ‘heavy’ and ‘light’ etc. at *Rep.* 479 B.)

Now every odd number is the ‘half’ of some even number, but not a ‘double’ (*i.e.* a multiple of 2); and opposed to this series of odd numbers (1, 3, 5, 7, etc.) we have the series consisting of their ‘doubles’ (2, 6, 10, 14, etc.)—the series known to ancient mathematicians as ‘even-uneven’ (ἀρτιοπéριττοι, or ἀρτιάκις

περιττοί). They are defined by Theon of Smyrna (l. ix ed. Dupuis p. 40) as οἱ ὑπὸ δυνάδος καὶ περιττοῦ οὐτινοσοῦν μετρούμενοι. If we take these two series of numbers, the odd series are *halves which are not doubles*, the even series are *doubles which are not halves* (of any other number in either series). The two series are thus 'contrary' in the same way that even and uneven numbers are so. It is possible that 'the double' was in older Greek mathematics the technical name of this series of ἀρτιοπέριττοι, the remaining even numbers 4, 8, 12, 16, etc., being classed, as they are by Theon, in other series.

Thus a pair of numbers, like 5 and 10, which belong to these series, have each two characters (even or uneven, half or double) which are contrary; and this is the point of the words, 'Now, this latter (sort of) term (the 'double') is itself also opposed to another (sort of) term (the 'half').' Hence a possible objector might say that 5 and 10, which are members of these series, do not strictly come into the class of terms first defined: ποῖα οὐκ ἐναντία τινὶ ὄντα ὁμῶς οὐ δέχεται αὐτὸ τὸ ἐναντιόν 104 E. Although *qua* a number, 10 is *not* the contrary of any other particular number; *qua* 'double,' it *is* the contrary of its 'half.' Plato wishes to point out that this does not matter to his argument. 'None the less,' he continues, 'the double does not admit the character of oddness' (and that is all that matters).

Plato is probably thinking of *multiplication* and *division*—processes that have been mentioned as requiring to be accounted for (101 C). His account is that '1 and 1 become 2 because of their coming to partake of 2' (τὴν τῆς δυνάδος μετὰσχεσιν). It is possible that he is thinking of the series of 'double' numbers as generated by the process of multiplying by 2, in which case the multiplying 2 might be said to 'import' the character of doubleness as well as the character of evenness.

The rest of our passage deals with 'the half' (τὸ ἡμισύ) in a different sense, the sense in which it is opposed, not to 'double,' but to 'whole.' The *halves which cannot be wholes* are the halves of uneven numbers, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{2}$, $\frac{5}{2}$ etc., or $\frac{1}{2}$, $1\frac{1}{2}$ (τὸ ἡμιόλιον, the 'half-whole'), $2\frac{1}{2}$ etc. as distinct from *halves which can be wholes*, such as $\frac{2}{2}$, $\frac{4}{2}$, $\frac{6}{2}$ etc. They are opposed presumably to the series of *wholes which cannot be halved*, namely the series of uneven numbers. Taken in this sense 'half' and 'whole' are contraries like 'even' and 'uneven.' There are, of course, other series, such as $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{4}{3}$, $\frac{5}{3}$, which exclude the character of wholeness.

Is the character opposed to wholeness held to be 'imported,' in *division*, by the divisor? Does the *divisor* 2 import the character of $\frac{1}{2}$, which appears in each of these 'halves' $1\frac{1}{2}$, $2\frac{1}{2}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$ etc. (as in the case of the 'double' above considered, the *multiplier* 2 imported the character of doubleness)? If these fractions are *multiplied* by 2, 2 imports the character not of doubleness, but of *wholeness*. It is rash, perhaps, to speculate further.

The upshot of the whole passage is that (1) there are classes of terms—'doubles' and 'halves'—which appear not to satisfy strictly the definition above given of 'terms which are *not themselves opposites*, but do not admit opposites.'

These terms now considered are 'opposites' of other terms, but they *also* have the characteristic of implying and excluding *other* opposites, such as even and uneven. (2) There are also classes of terms—'halves' (thirds etc.) and 'wholes'—in the case of which a number 2 (3 etc.) as multiplier imports the character of *wholeness*, and as divisor imports that of *halfness* (thirdness etc.).

I am inclined to think that this passage was inserted by the author (if by him at all) as an afterthought. Not only is it obscure, but it does not fit on to the preceding context. The previous sentence ends with the words αὐτὸ τὸ ἐπιφέρων τὴν τοῦ ἐπιφερομένου ἐναντιότητα μηδέποτε δέξασθαι. When the writer continues with τὰ πέντε τὴν τοῦ ἀρτίου οὐ δέξεται, he does not notice that we should naturally supply from the previous sentence (τὴν τοῦ ἀρτίου) ἐναντιότητα, not (τὴν τοῦ ἀρτίου) ἰδέαν which alone makes sense. The position of τὸ διπλάσιον, in apposition to τὰ δέκα, is also oddly careless. It is just the sort of addition which a modern author might make in a footnote, when some more complicated instance, which interested him but was not very relevant, occurred to his mind.

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THE WORD χρυσοχοεῖν IN THE *REPUBLIC* OF PLATO

THE passage containing this verb is in *Resp.* v. 450 B: χρυσοχοήσοντας οἷε τούσδε νῦν ἐνθάδε ἀφίχθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ λόγων ἀκουσομένους; The situation is dramatic. Socrates, to his own mind, has just finished a discussion of the one part of his ideal state, and is intending to go on to the other. Polemarchus, however, seizes him by the cloak and at the same time whispers to Adeimantus. Then Adeimantus tells Socrates that they will hold him by force, until he explains further some words of his that have aroused their interest, and finally Thrasymachus adds that they are unanimous in this decision. Socrates replies that they know not what a swarm of explanations they are stirring up. 'Seeing this swarm,' says he, 'I let it pass, that it might not bother us greatly.' Then Thrasymachus replies: '*But do you think these persons have come here for gold-hunting* (χρυσοχοήσοντας), *and not to hear explanations?*'

Plato, Xenophon and Aristophanes each use the word but once, and it is rare elsewhere. This fact has therefore given rise to more explanations of the meaning of the term 'gold-hunting' than would have been necessary had the word been in common use. Its meaning in Plato is evidently figurative. There is no real gold in sight.

The lexicographers, Suidas and Harpocration, under the word, χρυσοχοεῖον, quote from a speech of Dinarchus as follows: πάλιν παρ' Αἰσχίνην ἀποφοιτήσας παρὰ τούτῳ δῆλον ὅτι χρυσοχοεῖν ἐμάνθανεν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ προκείμενον αὐτῷ πράττειν ἢ πάσχειν. Both then add that this proverbial expression (παροιμία) is used by Plato. Besides this, they both tell the same story as regards the origin of it.—The Athenians once upon a time went out to attack some warlike ants that guarded gold-dust on Hymettus. As they returned from a bootless expedition, they laughingly said to one another: Σὺ δὲ ῥ' οὐ χρυσοχοήσεις; ὅπερ δηλοῖ, σὺ δὲ ῥ' οὐ ψῆγμα πολὺ συλλέξας καὶ χρυσοχοήσας πλουτήσεις;—The meaning of the word χρυσοχοεῖν in this latter passage is evidently 'to be rich by gathering gold' in a literal sense. This can, however, not be its use in Plato.

Modern commentators have taken various paths in arriving at its meaning. Some idea of the variety of interpretations may be gained from the following phrases: 'to be greatly disappointed,' 'on a fool's errand,' 'to find the philosopher's stone,' 'to find an Eldorado,' 'to idle away their time,' 'to do

anything rather than the matter in hand'; or by more direct transfer of the word: 'to find gold,' 'to refine gold,' 'to dig gold,' 'on a gold-hunting errand.'

It might be thought that, in using such a peculiar word, Plato had some special purpose which could be discovered by a careful reading of the context. Some pages in front of 450 B Socrates, following a hint derived from the mythological Golden Age (*Resp.* 547 A, Hes. *Op. et Dies* 108), has been discovering gold in the character of his citizens. 'Searching for this gold,' he declares, 'will be our chief duty in selecting a ruler for the city,'—τὸν αἰεὶ ἐν τε παισὶ καὶ νεανίσκοις καὶ ἐν ἀνδράσι βασανίζόμενον καὶ ἀκήρατον ἐκβαίνοντα καταστατέον ἄρχοντα τῆς πόλεως (413 E). This metaphor, by which noble character is regarded as containing gold, is touched upon elsewhere in the Republic at 415 A-C, 416 E, 468 E, 503 A, 537 B, 547 A. The frequency of its occurrence shows easily the importance of this notion in the eyes of Plato. Aristotle mentions ὁ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χρυσός as one of the characteristic features of the Republic (*Pol.* ii. 5, 1264 b H 12).

It might also be thought that Thrasymachus would be especially impressed with this. Where he first takes part in the dialogue (336 E) Socrates describes their hunt for the definition of justice as a search for a gold coin. But this figure, by which gold is found in the soul of the just man, has been last touched upon at 416 E, some thirty-five pages before the present remark of Thrasymachus. This would seem to make it too remote for him to allude to it. His quick, impulsive nature usually takes fire at once. If he is true to his character as portrayed in the first book of the Republic, he could not wait so long before making a reply.

Although he is a man of forcible expressions, he is not now in a mood to sneer at Socrates. Translators are in error when they make him here take a ferocious or scornful attitude. Regarded as a wild beast (θηρίον) at 336 B, his manner had become quite cooled at 354 A (πρᾶος ἐγένου). This mollified attitude as regards Socrates is mentioned again at 358 B, before the present passage and at 498 C after it. Consequently this frame of mind may be considered as permanent for Thrasymachus throughout this part of the dialogue where the gold-hunting is spoken of. Aristophanes uses the verb χρυσοχοεῖν (*Plut.* 164) of a maker of jewelry. This sense of the word would naturally lead to a figurative meaning of 'work at trifles' or 'work for mere show.' Neither of these as we have seen would suit the context in Plato or the mood of Thrasymachus. When the word is used by Xenophon (*Oec.* 18, 19) it means the art of testing money to find whether it is counterfeit or not. This meaning has the advantage of coming from a contemporary author. Besides this in *Resp.* 413 E Socrates had emphasized the need of thus testing in a figurative sense the quality of the gold in the souls of his rulers (βασανίζοντας πολὺν μᾶλλον ἢ χρυσὸν ἐν πυρί). But a figurative meaning of this sort carries with it the same objection that was urged before; namely, that it is too far away for Thrasymachus to seize upon it. Moreover, 'testing'

forms no proper contrast to the phrase, 'hearing explanations,' that follows it in 450 B.

The lexicographers often have some underlying truth in a statement which, from being wrongly placed, or in part omitted, has become scarcely intelligible. Perhaps their story about the ants may give some clew to the right meaning, though as it stands it has little point.

Chief among ant stories of antiquity is that told by Herodotus (iii. 102). These ants dwelt about the sources of the Indus and guarded gold-dust in a desert valley. They were of a size between a shepherd-dog and a fox, but like Greek ants in appearance and in subterranean habits. The adventurer in search of gold-dust entered their district in the hottest part of the day with three camels. He filled his saddle-bags quickly with the precious sand, mounted his swiftest camel, and fled. The ants pursued and, as they gained on him, he cast loose first one camel and then another. While the ants paused to devour these camels, he made good his escape on the third. The same story is told by Strabo (after Megasthenes) with little variation. In his story, instead of live camels, pieces of meat were used to delay the ants. Strabo adds that Nearchus, Alexander's admiral, had seen the spotted skins of these animals brought into the Macedonian camp. The same story of these Indian ants is also referred to by Pliny, *H.N.* xi. 31 (36); Arrian, *Ind.* 15; Dio Chrys.; *Or.* 35, p. 436; Pomp. Mela, iii. 62 and Aelian, *H.A.* iii. 4 with unimportant changes. This story must have been widely known to account for its frequent repetition. It differs from the account of the lexicographers by describing so carefully the rapid retreat of the gold-seekers.

If now this feature of the story is applied to the words of Thrasymachus, it will be seen to fit the circumstances very closely. Socrates wishes to pass along to another subject, to avoid a 'swarm' as he says; but Thrasymachus replies: 'do you think these persons have come here, *like gold-hunters, for the purpose of leaving in haste?*'

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AD EPICTETVM.¹

DISS. I 1 16 —καὶ παρακύπτομεν συνεχῶς, τίς ἄνεμος πνεῖ; ‘βορέας’.

Praestare uidetur κ. π. συνεχῶς ‘τίς ἄνεμος πνεῖ; βορέας’. Habet hoc Epictetus ut aliquem loquentem inducat neque id uerbo aliquo dicendi praemisso significet; exempli gratia eos tantum locos citabo ubi non recte interpunxit Schenkl: I 25 4 <‘>τὰ σὰ τήρει ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου—. τίς οὖν ἀφελέσθαι δύναταί σου ταῦτα; τίς κωλύσει (-σαι Sc) χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς ἄλλος εἰ μὴ σύ; σὺ δὲ πῶς; ὅταν <περὶ add. s> τὰ μὴ σαντοῦ σπουδάσης, τὰ σαντοῦ ἀπώλεσας<’> (corrigere in transitu ἀπολέσας), I 22 17 Αὕτη ἐστὶ ζήτησις τοῦ φιλοσοφοῦντος τῷ ὄντι καὶ ὠδίνοντος <‘>νῦν ἐγὼ οὐχ ὁρῶ τί ἐστὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακόν· οὐ μαίνομαι;<’>, III 11 1 Εἰσὶ τινες ὡς ἐκ νόμου διατεταγμένοι κολάσεις τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσι τῇ θείᾳ διοικήσει· <‘>ὅς ἂν ἄλλο τι ἡγήσῃ ἀγαθὸν—δυστυχεῖτω<’>, IV 6 33 ἐγκαλεῖ[.] ‘τί γάρ κτέ.’ Delenda est igitur adnotatio critica ad II 20 5 οἱ Ἀκαδημαῖκούς αὐτοὺς λέγοντες; ‘ὦ ἄνθρωποι κτέ’. Plura uide *Class. Rev.* xx 1 p. 17 (ad II 1 25).

I 3 7 οἱ πλείους δ’ ἡμῶν ἀλώπεκες καὶ ὡς (ὅσα s, corrige ὅσ’) ἐν ξύοις ἀτυχήματα. τί γάρ ἐστιν ἄλλο λοιδορος καὶ κακοήθης ἄνθρωπος ἢ ἀλώπηξ ἢ τι ἄλλο ἀτυχέστερον καὶ ταπεινότερον; Supple ἢ <εἴ>τι ἄλλο, cf. *Fragm.* x p. 410 18 ἢ εἴ τι τούτων χεῖρον. Idem coniecerat editor, sed non repetiuit in ed. min.

I 4 12 ἂν δὲ τρέμων καὶ πενθὼν ζητῆς ἀπερίπτωτος εἶναι, ἄρα πῶς προκόπτεις; Corrige ὅρα πῶς προκόπτεις.=uide qualis sit ille profectus (cf. 9 et 10). Idem. mendum correxit Sc II 9 3.

I 4 27 τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀπροαιρέτων οὐδέν ἐστι πρὸς ἡμᾶς.—ἐκτὸς secluserat Schweigh. malim tamen τῶν ἐκτὸς καὶ ἀπροαιρέτων (uel potius ἀπροαιρέτων) ut III 24 56 τὰ ἐκτὸς καὶ ἀπροαίρετα, IV 4 3, 7 10.

I 7 6 οὐκοῦν καὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐν χρήσει νομίσματος μὴ διαπίπτειν ἀρκεῖ τοῦτο ἀκοῦσαι, διὰ τί τὰς μὲν δοκίμους δραχμὰς παραδέχῃ, τὰς δ’ ἀδοκίμους ἀποδοκιμάζεις; (-δέχου et -δοκίμαξε corr. S a pr. m.). Corrigo —τοῦτο ἀκοῦσαι ὅτι² ‘τὰς μὲν δοκίμους δραχμὰς παραδέχου, τὰς δ’ ἀδοκίμους ἀποδοκίμαξε’; cf. 9 τί παραγγέλλεται ἐν λόγῳ; <‘>τὸ ἀκόλουθον τοῖς δοθείσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ καλῶς παραδέχου<’>, ubi uirgulas addidi: uide quae supra ad I 1 16 adnotauimus.

¹ Cf. *Classical Review* xx 1 et 2 (1906).

² διὰ τί S, διότι s; sic διότι pro διὰ τί ante Gesnerum egebatur *Fragm.* xix, qui idem *Fragm.* xi διότι

(=quod) pro διὰ τί substituit; non dubitavi id scribere quod sermonis Epictetei proprium est.

I 7 8 τοῦ ἀληθοῦς καὶ τοῦ ψευδοῦς καὶ τοῦ ἀδῆλου; 'ψεύδους (quod est in S a prima manu) defendi potest' in praefatione monet editor: immo defendi debet, in huius enim uocabuli accentu mirum quantum peccauerunt librarii; nisi si quis persuadere sibi possit, ubi falsum uero (τῷ ἀληθεῖ) opponitur, pro lubricine uel τοῦ ψευδοῦς, τῷ ψευδεῖ, τὰ ψευδῇ similia, uel τοῦ ψεύδους, τῷ ψεύδει, τὰ ψεύδη dixisse Epictetum, cum semper et ubique in casibus nominatiuo et accusatiuo τὸ ψεύδους, non τὸ ψευδές inueniatur. Cf. Plut. *Lysand.* 7 τὸ ἀληθές οὐ φύσει τοῦ ψεύδους κρεῖττον ἡγούμενος, Bekkeri ind. ad Sext. Emp. s.u. ψεύδους.¹

I 7 11 καὶ αὐτόν τ' ἀποδείξειν ἕκαστα ἀποδεικνύοντα καὶ τοῖς ἀποδεικνύουσι παρακολουθήσειν. Coniecturam suam ἀποδεικνύοντα in praefatione reuocans ἀποδόντα restituit editor uultque audiri 'λόγον', nullo tamen exemplo probans ἀποδιδόναι dici posse pro ἀποδιδόναι λόγον; nolo enim suspicari ex antecedentibus 'τὸν μέλλοντα ἐν λόγῳ συνετῶς ἀναστραφῆσθαι', ubi prorsus diuerso significato λόγος positum est, huc eum trahere uelle. De loci interpretatione sic equidem sentio: ἀποδείξειν sine obiecto esse positum ut III 26 16 (ἀλλὰ σύ μελετᾷς ἀποδεικνύνειν δύνασθαι), ἕκαστα ἀποδιδόντα² autem significare 'ἕκαστα ὀρίζοντα, singula finientem', cf. Arist. *Eth.* IV 2 περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, τίς ἐστιν, ἀμφισβητοῦσι καὶ οὐχ ὁμοίως οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς σοφοῖς ἀποδιδόασιν, Sext. Emp. Πρὸς φυσικοὺς β' 50 (p. 486 10 Bekk.) ἔνιοι τοίνυν ὀριζόμενοι τὴν κίνησιν φασὶ 'κίνησίς ἐστι μετάβασις ἀπὸ τόπου εἰς τόπον'. πρὸς οὓς λέγεται ὅτι τὴν μὲν εὐθικὴν κίνησιν ἀπέδωσαν—, τὴν δὲ κυκλοφορητικὴν παρέλιπον, eundem Πρὸς λογικοὺς β' 454 (p. 385 32) οὐκ ἂν οὕτως αὐτὸ ἀπεδίδωσαν, cf. apud eundem ἀπόδοσις (Πρὸς ῥήτορας i p. 674 22, Πρὸς ἡθικοὺς 30 p. 551 29, Πυρρ. ὑποτυπ. 242 p. 178 7), δυσασπόδοτος (Πρὸς λογ. α' 241 p. 243 22), Clemens Alex. *Strom.* II 4 16 πρόληψιν δὲ ἀποδιδῶσιν, Gell. *N.A.* II 8 7 'synlogismum cum suis numeris omnibus et cum suis finibus dicere.'

I 9 16 ἐμὲ δ' ἐν τῷδε λέγειν—

Coniecturis abstinendum est: ἐν τῷδε enim=ἐν τῷδε τῷ τόπῳ (=supra 10 ἐνταῦθα, quo respicitur), cf. Sext. Emp. Πυρρ. ὑποτυπ. α' 123 p. 29 6 Bekk. κατὰ τήνδε τὴν θέσιν ἢ κατὰ τὸδε τὸ διάστημα ἢ ἐν τῷδε (ubi Bekker coniecit ἐν τῷδε τῷ τόπῳ), quae respiciunt 121 p. 28 20 πάντα τὰ φαινόμενα ἐν τινι θεωρεῖται καὶ ἀπὸ τίνος διαστήματος ἢ³ κατὰ τινὰ θέσιν, haec autem 118 p. 28 1 Πέμπτος ἐστὶ λόγος ὁ παρὰ τὰς θέσεις καὶ τὰ διαστήματα καὶ τοὺς τόπους, Epict. III 24 102 οὐ ζητήσω ἄλλο (sic Reiske pro ἄλλον) ἢ ἐν ᾧ εἰμί, III 24 31 οὐχ οἶόν τ' εἶναι πάντας ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, unde recte M. Casaubonus apud M. Antonin. VI 30 suppleuit μένειν ἐν τῷ <αὐτῷ>=I 16 (de eodem Antonino patre) τὸ τόποις τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνδιατριπτικόν.

¹ Itaque corrogo I 7 5 τὰ ψεύδη, I 28 2 τοῖς δὲ ψεύδεσι (cf. 4 τῷ ψεύδει), III 7 15 τῷ ψεύδει συγκαταθέσθαι (=IV 10 2 συγκαταθῆναι τῷ ψεύδει) et 22 42 συγκαταθέσθαι τῷ ψεύδει. Corrigatur etiam M. Antonin. IX 1 διακρίνειν τὰ ψεύδη ἀπὸ τῶν ἀληθῶν, at recte

se habet VIII 7 ἐν μὲν φαντασίαις μήτε ψευδεῖ (sc. φαντασίᾳ) μήτε ἀδῆλῳ συγκατατιθεμένη.

² Sic legendum cum Uptoni codice; idem in S fuerit ante rasuram.

³ καὶ V, praestare uidetur ἢ—ἢ.

I 11 17 τὸ φιλόστοργον δοκεῖ σοι κατὰ φύσιν τ' εἶναι καὶ καλόν; —Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; —Τί δέ; τὸ μὲν φιλόστοργον κατὰ φύσιν τ' ἐστὶν <καὶ καλόν>, τὸ δ' εὐλόγιστον οὐ καλόν; Recte τὸ δ' εὐλόγιστον οὐκ[αλον]; Upton, dummodo οὐ; [καλόν].

I 12 4 Πολὺ πρότερον οὖν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι περὶ ἐκάστου τούτων ἐπεσκέφθαι, πότερα ὑγιῶς ἢ οὐχ ὑγιῶς λεγόμενόν ἐστιν. εἰ γὰρ μὴ εἰσὶ θεοί, πῶς ἐστι τέλος ἔπεσθαι θεοῖς; Lege <τὸ> ἔπεσθαι θεοῖς; cf. locum quem e Stobaeo citauit editor (*Ecl.* I 140) εἴπερ οὖν ὑγιῶς λέγεται τέλος εἶναι τὸ ἔπεσθαι θεῶ, ἀναγκαῖον περὶ ἐκάστου τούτων ἐπεσκέφθαι, Epict. I 20 15 (τὸ Ζήνωνος) ὅτι τέλος ἐστὶ τὸ ἔπεσθαι θεοῖς, I 30 4 'τέλος δὲ τί;' 'τὸ σοὶ ἀκολουθεῖν',¹ M. Antonin. II 16 fin.

I 14 15 ὑμεῖς δὲ [†δε] τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων ἡξιωμένοι οὐκ ὁμόσετε ἢ ὁμόσαντες οὐκ ἐμμενεῖτε; καὶ τί ὁμόσετε; μὴ ἀπειθήσειν μηδέποτε μηδ' ἐγκαλέσειν μηδὲ μέμψεσθαί τινι τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου δεδομένων, μηδ' ἄκοντες ποιήσειν τι ἢ πείσεσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. Alterum δε seclusi, pro δεδομένων scribo διδομένων coll. II 13 8 οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι θέλει τὰ μὴ διδόμενα καὶ οὐ θέλει τὰ ἀναγκαῖα.

I 16 6 νῦν δ' ἡμεῖς ἀφέντες ἐπὶ τούτοις εὐχαριστεῖν, ὅτι μὴ καὶ αὐτῶν τὴν ἴσιν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπιμελούμεθα, ἐφ' αὐτοῖς ἐγκαλοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ.—ἐφ' αὐτοῖς S i.e. ἐπ' αὐτοῖς cf. Schenkl ed. min. p. ix (ad II 19 4 καθ' ἰδίαν) et quae adnotauimus *Class. Rev.* ad I 28 22.

I 16 17 μέγας ὁ θεός, ὅτι ἡμῖν παρέσχεν ὄργανα ταῦτα δι' ὧν τὴν γῆν ἐργασόμεθα. Corrige τοιαῦτα.

I 18 2 <τι τὸ παθεῖν ὅτι καθήκον καὶ τοῦ ὀρέγεσθαι τινος> apposite suppleuit Schweigh., debuit tamen καθήκει, sequitur enim τὸ παθεῖν ὅτι ἐμοὶ συμφέρει.

I 20 11 χάσκοντες καὶ καθεύδοντες πᾶσαν φαντασίαν παραπροσδεχόμεθα.

Monstrum, non ἄπαξ εἰρημένον est τὸ παραπροσδέχεσθαι φαντασίαν, siquidem ut praua φαντασία admitti potest, ita φαντασία prae nullo modo. Conflatum est e synonymis παρα- et προσδέχεσθαι: I 17 22 παραδέξασθαι τὸ ψεῦδος=7 14 προσδ. τὸ ψεῦδος, 26 I τὸ ἀκόλουθον τῇ ὑποθέσει παραδέχεσθαι=7 17 τὸ ἀκόλουθον αὐτοῖς προσδέχεσθαι et 24 τὰ δ' ἀκόλουθα προσδεκτέον. Utrum igitur scribamus, πᾶσαν φ. παραδεχόμεθα an προσδεχόμεθα? Illud tutius uidetur si conferimus III 12 15 ὥς γὰρ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔλεγεν 'ἀνεξέταστον βίον μὴ ξῆν', οὕτως ἀνεξέταστον φαντασίαν μὴ παραδέχεσθαι.

I 20 17 ἂν οὖν ἐλθὼν Ἐπίκουρος εἴπη, ὅτι ἐν σαρκὶ δεῖ εἶναι τὸ ἀγαθόν, πάλιν μακρὸν γίνεται καὶ ἀνάγκη ἀκοῦσαι τί τὸ προηγούμενόν ἐστιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν, τί τὸ ὑποστατικὸν καὶ οὐσιῶδες. ὅτι τὸ κοχλίου ἀγαθὸν οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶναι <ἐν> τῷ κελύφει, τὸ οὖν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰκός; σὺ δ' αὐτὸς τί κυριώτερον ἔχεις, Ἐπίκουρε; τί ἐστὶν ἐν σοὶ τὸ βουλευόμενον, τὸ ἐπισκεπτόμενον ἕκαστα κτέ.;

Alterum ὅτι—'quoniam' uertit Schweigh.—quid sibi uelit nescio. Itaque

¹ In uerbis quae subsequuntur 'ταῦτα καὶ νῦν λέγεις;' ταῦτὰ pro ταῦτα plus non tribuit editor quam ut in apparatus criticum eam reciperet.

interpungo (ut pendeat a uerbo ἀκούσαι) τί τὸ ὑποστατικὸν καὶ οὐσιῶδες, ὅτι τὸ κοχλίου ἀγαθὸν οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶναι ἐν τῷ κελύφει· τὸ οὖν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰκός; Cetera non dubito quin recte legerit Upton σὺ δ' αὐτός τι κυριώτερον ἔχεις, Ἐπίκουρε.

I 23 7 ἀλλ' ὡς μὴ εἰδὼς ταῦτα τολμᾷ λέγειν ὅτι 'μὴ ἀναιρώμεθα τέκνα'.

Aptissime ὡς μὴ pro ὁ μὴ supposuit editor (II 9 21 ὡς εἰδότες), potest tamen Arrianus scripsisse ὁμως εἰδὼς (III 11 2 καὶ ὁμως οὕτως πικρῶς κολαζόμενοι ἀποστῆναι οὐ δυνάμεθα).

I 28 1 Causam adsentiendi esse, quod *ita esse* nobis uidetur, inde probatur quod, ubi *ποη ita esse* nobis uidetur, fieri non potest ut adsentiamur: Τί ἐστὶν αἷτιον τοῦ συγκατατίθεσθαι τινι; τὸ φαίνεσθαι ὅτι ὑπάρχει. τῷ οὖν φαινομένῳ ὅτι οὐχ ὑπάρχει συγκατατίθεσθαι οὐχ οἷόν τε. Cum autem quod probandi causa adsumitur per οὖν (= igitur) introduci non possit, utique restituendum est γοῦν. Exempli gratia adfero I 2 2 Τὸ δ' ἀπάγξασθαι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀφόρητον· ὅταν γοῦν πάθῃ τις ὅτι εὐλογον, ἀπελθὼν ἀπήγξατο, III 13 2.

I 28 6 οὐ δύναται οὖν τις δοκεῖν μὲν ὅτι συμφέρεи αὐτῷ, μὴ αἰρεῖσθαι δ' αὐτό; οὐ δύναται. πῶς ἢ λέγουσα

καὶ μανθάνω μὲν οἶα δρᾶν μέλλω κακά,
θυμὸς δὲ κρείσσων τῶν ἐμῶν βουλευμάτων;

ὅτι αὐτὸ τοῦτο, τῷ θυμῷ χαρίσασθαι καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, συμφορώτερον ἡγίεται τοῦ σῶσαι τὰ τέκνα; 'ναί, ἀλλ' ἐξηπάτηται'.

Vidit Elter post τέκνα interrogandi signo sublato punctum esse ponendum: idem autem dum etiam post βουλευμάτων tollit, proque πῶς ἢ λέγουσα scribit ὥσπερ uel ὡς ἢ λέγουσα, Epicteto scilicet haec tribuens, uereor ut uerum tetigerit. Nam sicuti uerba 'ναί, ἀλλ' ἐξηπάτηται' ficti alicuius interlocutoris sunt, sicuti illa <'>οὐ δύναται οὖν τις δοκεῖν μὲν ὅτι συμφέρεи αὐτῷ, μὴ αἰρεῖσθαι δ' αὐτό;<'> (ubi iniuria οὐ deleuit Schweigh., Epicteto haec tribuens: cf. infra II <'>ὥστε καὶ τὰ οὕτω μεγάλα καὶ δεινὰ ἔργα ταύτην ἔχει τὴν ἀρχήν, τὸ φαινόμενον;<'> ταύτην οὐδ' ἄλλην), ita et haec <'>πῶς ἢ λέγουσα—βουλευμάτων;<'>, quod quo minus lucide appareret librarii culpa accidit qui omisit quod in obiectione simul et admiratione poni solet, facile autem post δύναται periit: <'καὶ> πῶς ἢ λέγουσα κτέ.<'> Praeterea necessario corrigendum est αὐτὸ τοῦτο, τὸ θυμῷ (uel τὸ τῷ θυμῷ) χαρίσασθαι.

I 29 46 'πῶς οὖν ἀναβαίνεις νῦν;' (uigulas addidit Schenkl praef. ed. min.) ὡς μάρτυς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κεκλημένος. Quae sequuntur ita diuidenda esse uidentur: 'ἔρχου σὺ καὶ μαρτύρησόν μοι· σὺ γὰρ ἄξιός εἰ προαχθῆναι μάρτυς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ· μή τι τῶν ἐκτὸς τῆς προαιρέσεως ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶν ἢ κακόν; μή τινα βλάπτω; μή τι ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἐποίησα τὴν ἐκάστου ἢ ἐπ' αὐτῷ; τίνα μαρτυρίαν δίδως τῷ θεῷ; (num haec dices¹;) "ἐν δεινοῖς εἰμι, κύριε, καὶ δυστυχῶ, οὐδεὶς μου ἐπιστρέφεται, οὐδεὶς μοι δίδωσιν οὐδέν, πάντες ψεύγουσιν, κακολογοῦσιν"; ταῦτα

¹ Cf. quae ad I 1 16 adnotauiimus.

μέλλεις μαρτυρεῖν καὶ καταισχύνειν τὴν κλήσιν ἢν κέκληκεν, ὅτι σε ἐτίμησεν ταύτην τὴν τιμὴν καὶ ἄξιον ἡγήσατο προ[σ]αγαγεῖν εἰς μαρτυρίαν τηλικαυτην;'

I 30 2 'φυγὴν καὶ φυλακὴν καὶ δεσμὰ καὶ θάνατον καὶ ἀδοξίαν τί ἔλεγες ἐν τῇ σχολῇ; ' ἐγὼ ἀδιάφορα. ' νῦν οὖν τίνα αὐτὰ λέγεις; Lege τί(ν)' ἔλεγες.

II 1 14 Ἔδει οὖν πρὸς μὲν τὸν θάνατον τὸ θάρσος ἐστράφθαι, πρὸς δὲ τὸν φόβον τοῦ θανάτου τὴν εὐλάβειαν· νῦν δὲ τὸ ἐναντίον πρὸς μὲν τὸν θάνατον τὴν φυγὴν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ δόγμα τὴν ἀνεπιστρεψίαν καὶ τὸ ἀφειδὲς καὶ τὸ ἀδιαφορητικόν. Pro ἀφειδὲς temptaui ἀμελὲς, coll. II 6 2 μὴ ποτ' οὖν, ὅταν εἴπῃ τις ὑμῖν ἀδιαφορεῖν καὶ ταῦτα, ἀμελεῖς γίνεσθε.

II 1 36 μηδὲ φωνὴν τις ἀκούσῃ σου περὶ αὐτῶν ποτε μηδ', ἂν ἐπαινέσῃ τις ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἀνέχου, δόξον δὲ μηδεὶς εἶναι καὶ εἶδέναι μηδέν.

Ne obiecto careat uerbum ἐπαινεῖν, scribo ἂν ἐπαινῇ σέ τις, confer locum parallelum *Ench.* 48 2 οὐδὲν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λέγει, ὡς ὄντος τινὸς ἢ εἰδότος τί—κἂν τις αὐτὸν ἐπαινῇ, καταγελᾷ τοῦ ἐπαινοῦντος αὐτὸς παρ' ἑαυτῷ.

II 6 5 ὅπου τινὸς χρεῖα τριβῆς, μὴ ζήτει τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς χρείας¹ περιγινόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐκείνου μὲν παραχῶρει τοῖς περιτετριμμένοις, σοὶ δ' ἀρκείτω τὸ εὐσταθεῖν.

Verbum περιτρίβεσθαι nusquam, si fides habenda est lexicis, usurpatur τροπικῶς, significatus autem qui est in substantiuo quod est περίτριμμα, ab loci indole alienus est. Suspicio τοῖς περὶ <ταῦτα> τετριμμένοις, cf. II 16 18 περὶ τὰς ὕλας τετριμμεθα.

II 7 12 νῦν δὲ τρέμοντες τὸ ὀρνιθάριον κρατοῦμεν καὶ τὸν ἰθεὸν ἐπικαλούμενοι δεόμεθα αὐτοῦ· 'κύριε, ἐλέησον' ἐπίτρεψόν μοι ἐξελθεῖν'. ἀνδράποδον, ἄλλο γάρ τι θέλεις ἢ τὸ ἄμεινον; ἄλλο οὖν τι ἄμεινον ἢ τὸ τῷ θεῷ δοκοῦν; τί τὸ ὅσον ἐπὶ σοὶ διαφθείρεις τὸν κριτὴν, παράγεις τὸν σύμβουλον;

Corrigamus censeo τοῦ ὀρνιθαρίου κρατοῦμεν (cf. 4 τί οὖν ἔτι χρεῖαν ἔχω τῶν σπλάγχνων ἢ τῶν οἰωνῶν;) i.e. 'auiculam mordicus tenemus', cf. I 23 2 πάλιν γὰρ ἐκείνου (Ἐπικούρου) λίαν κρατεῖ, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἀπεσπασμένον οὐδὲν τῆς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ οὐσίας οὔτε θαυμάζειν οὔτ' ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ καλῶς αὐτοῦ κρατεῖ. In uerbis τὸν θεὸν ἐπικαλούμενοι nihil est quod dubitationem moueat: deus, cui humiliter supplicatur 'ἐπίτρεψόν μοι ἐξελθεῖν', idem est ille qui post ὁ κριτής, ὁ σύμβουλος, quem sic precando corrumpimus, seducimus.

II 8 11 σὺ δὲ προηγούμενον εἶ, σὺ ἀπόσπασμα εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἔχεις τι ἐν σεαυτῷ μέρος ἐκείνου. τί οὖν ἀγνοεῖς σου τὴν εὐγένειαν;

Pro εὐγένειαν, quod uulgo legitur, ex S συγγένειαν restituit Schenkl; uulgatam propter adiectum σου praetulerim.

II 9 Lemma: "Ὅτι οὐ δυνάμενοι τὴν ἀνθρώπου ἐπαγγελίαν πληρῶσαι τὴν [τοῦ] φιλοσόφου προσλαμβάνομεν.

τοῦ ex auctoritate cod. S deleuit editor (praef. ed. min.), bis—τοῦ ἀνθρώπου—

¹ ἀπὸ τῆς τριβῆς Reiske, ἀπ' αὐτῆς [χρέας] Elter.

τοῦ φιλοσόφου—exhibent apographa, uti compluribus locis ab editore contempta¹; uide capitis finem 22 οὕτως οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπαγγελίαν πληρῶσαι δυνάμενοι προσλαμβάνομεν τὴν τοῦ φιλοσόφου.

II 9 18 ἄλλο γάρ ἐστιν ὡς εἰς ταμιεῖον ἀποθέσθαι ἄρτους καὶ οἶνον, ἄλλο ἐστὶ φαγεῖν. Dele ὡς.

II 10 16 καὶ ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὐτ' ἔχειν <καλὸν ἐστιν> οὐτ' ἀπολλύειν αἰσχρὸν ἐστι, ταῦτα δὲ καὶ μὴ ἔχειν καὶ ἀπολλύειν καὶ αἰσχρὸν ἐστι καὶ ἐπονείδιστον καὶ ἀτύχημα. Propter ultimam uocem ἀτύχημα suppleuerim potius—quod cur exciderit causa non latet—οὐτ' ἔχειν <εὐτύχημ'> κτέ.

II 11 5 καλῶς ἐποίησεν, δεόντως, οὐ δεόντως· ἠτύχησεν, εὐτύχησεν· ἄδικός ἐστι, δίκαιός ἐστι. Suppleo καλῶς ἐποίησεν, <αἰσχροῦς ἐποίησεν,> coll. 7 οὐκ οἶδα ἐγὼ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν;

II 11 12 ὁ δὲ μαινόμενος ἄλλα τινὰ ποιεῖ ἢ τὰ δοκοῦντά οἱ καλὰ; κἀκεῖνφ οὖν ἀρκεῖ τοῦτο τὸ κριτήριον;—Οὐκ ἀρκεῖ.—'Ἐλθὲ οὖν ἐπὶ τι ἀνωτέρω τοῦ δοκεῖν. τι τοῦτό ἐστιν; 'Ἰδ' ἀρχὴ φιλοσοφίας αἴσθησις μάχης τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ζήτησις τοῦ παρ' ὃ γίνεται ἡ μάχη κτέ.

In uerbis δοκοῦντά οἱ (!) καλὰ a recentiore manu ι uel οἱ in rasura esse scriptum monet editor in praef. ed. min. Restitue ἄλλα τινὰ ποιεῖ ἢ τὰ δοκοῦντα;—Οὐκ ἄλλα.—Κἀκεῖνφ οὖν ἀρκεῖ τοῦτο τὸ κριτήριον;—Οὐκ ἀρκεῖ.—

Pro εἶδ' ἀρχὴ φιλοσοφίας αἴσθησις κτέ ('Ἰδ' Schweighaeusero debetur) scribe τί δ' ἀρχὴ φιλοσοφίας; αἴσθησις κτέ. Sequitur 14 τοῦτ' ἐστιν ἀρχὴ φιλοσοφίας. Repetit et exponit Epictetus quod initio capitis breuiusculè posuit 'Ἀρχὴ φιλοσοφίας παρὰ γε τοῖς ὡς δεῖ καὶ κατὰ θύραν ἀπτομένοις αὐτῆς συναίσθησις τῆς αὐτοῦ² ἀσθενείας καὶ ἀδυναμίας περὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα. (II 8 10 εἰ=τί.)

II 13 17 πῶς μ' ἀποδέξεται, πῶς μοῦ ἀκούσει; Restituatur forma media ἀκούσεται, item 21 1 ἀκούσῃ pro ἀκούσεις, cf. 24 10 et 16 ἀκουσόμενος, III 23 35 ἀκουσόμενους.

II 17 5 τὸ δ' ἐξαπατῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς τοῦτ' ἐστιν, ὅπερ καὶ Θεόπομπον τὸν ῥήτορα, ὅπου καὶ Πλάτωνι ἐγκαλεῖ ἐπὶ τῷ βούλεσθαι ἕκαστα ὀρίζεσθαι.—ὅπου καὶ Θεόπομπον, quod a prima manu est in S, effecit ut et ὅπου καὶ Πλάτωνι scriberetur pro ὅπου Πλάτωνι, quod restituendum est.

II 17 17 νῦν σὺ θέλεις τὰ δυνατὰ καὶ τὰ σοὶ δυνατὰ; <διὰ> τί οὖν ἐμποδίξῃ διὰ τί δυσροεῖς; νῦν οὐ φεύγεις τὰ ἀναγκαῖα; διὰ τί οὖν περιπίπτεις τινί, διὰ τί δυστυχεῖς;—<διὰ> addidi.

¹ Vnum exemplum pro pluribus sit II 6 20 'Τῇ κεφαλῇ κινδυνεύω ἐπὶ Κάλσαρος.' ἐγὼ δ' οὐ κινδυνεύω, δς οἰκῶ ἐν Νικοπόλει, ὅπου σεισμοὶ τοσοῦτοι; σὺ δ' αὐτὸς θαν διαπλὲς τὸν 'Αδρίαν, τί κινδυνεύεις; οὐ τῇ κεφαλῇ; apographa τίνι κινδυνεύεις;

² 1. αὐτοῦ? 'die Thatsache dass Epictet die längeren Formen εαντ- oft gebraucht, durchgehend die eli-

dierten Präpositionen vor dem Reflexiv aspirirt, dass er nicht, wie z.B. neutestamentliche Schriftsteller die persönlichen Fürwörter der 1. und 2. Person reflexiv gebraucht, beweist, dass er das Reflexiv der 3. Person unterschieden hat'. P. Wendland, *Berliner Philol. Wochenschr.* 18 Jahrg. (1898) N. 44 p. 1347.

II 17 26 καὶ τί ἔτι λέγεις πεπαιδεῦσθαι; ποίαν παιδείαν, ἄνθρωπε; ὅτι συλλογισμοὺς ἔπραξας, μεταπίπτοντας; Corrigatur ἔπλεξας, uide ind. s. uu. πλέκειν et ἀναλύνειν.

II 21 13 Auditorum tacitae uariaeque cogitationes distinguendae erant: 'τί λέγουσιν οἱ ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωποι περὶ ἐμοῦ; νῦν οἷονταί με προκόπτειν καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἤξει ἐκείνος πάντα εἰδώς. ἤθελόν πῶς ποτε πάντα μαθὼν ἐπανελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ πόνου χρεία' καὶ 'οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν πέμπει' καὶ 'ἐν Νικοπόλει σαπρῶς λούει τὰ βαλανεῖα' καὶ 'ἐν οἴκῳ κακῶς καὶ ὧδε κακῶς'.

II 21 15 τίς γὰρ ἔρχεται εἰς σχολὴν [τίς γὰρ] ὡς θεραπευθσόμενος, τίς ὡς παρέξων αὐτοῦ (1. αὐτοῦ?) τὰ δόγματα ἐκκαθαρθσόμενα, τίς συναισθησόμενος τίνων δεῖται;—[τίς γὰρ] aliquando seclusi (*Cl. Rev.* xx 1), nunc τίς <ὡς> συναισθησόμενος suppleo.

II 23 9 τίς ἐστίν (ἡ δύναμις) ἡ ἀνοίγουσα καὶ κλείουσα τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς—; ἡ ὁρατική; οὐ, ἀλλ' ἡ προαιρετική· τίς ἡ τὰ ὦτα ἐπικλείουσα καὶ ἀνοίγουσα—; ἡ ἀκουστική; οὐκ ἄλλη ἢ ἡ προαιρετική δύναμις. Upton: οὐ, ἀλλ' ἡ προαιρετική δύναμις. Vulgata defendi posset, si non praecederet rogatio ἡ ἀκουστική; In subsequentibus εἰτ' αὐτὴ ἰδοῦσα ὅτι ἐν τυφλαῖς καὶ κωφαῖς ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀπάσαις δυνάμεσιν ἐστὶ μηδέ τι ἄλλο συνορᾶν δυναμέναις πλὴν αὐτὰ ἐκείνα τὰ ἔργα, ἐφ' οἷς τεταγμένα εἰς διακονεῖν ταύτῃ καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν, αὐτὴ δὲ μόνη ὁξὺ βλέπει—non ταύτῃ sed τ' αὐτῇ scribendum est.

II 23 28 τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ κακείνῃ χρώμενον καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πάσαις καὶ μικραῖς καὶ μεγάλαις δυνάμεσιν. τούτου κατορθωθέντος ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος [ἀγαθὸς] γίνεται, ἀποτευχθέντος κακὸς ἄνθρωπος γίνεται, παρ' ὃ ἀτυχοῦμεν, εὐτυχοῦμεν, μεμφόμεθ' ἀλλήλοις, εὐαρεστοῦμεν, ἀπλῶς ὃ λεληθὸς μὲν κακεδαιμονίαν ποιεῖται, τυχόν δ' ἐπιμελείας εὐδαιμονίαν. Restituatur anaphora:—δυνάμεσιν, τοῦτ' <ο> οὐ κατορθωθέντος—γίνεται, restituatur etiam forma actiua κακεδαιμονίαν ποιεῖ[ται].

II 23 33 ὁμοίως (ἦν κινηθῆναι) τὴν Ἑλένην (ἰδόντα) καὶ ἦν ἔτυχε γυναῖκα; καὶ ταῦτα μωρὰ καὶ ἄγροικα—. Scribe γυναῖκα; [καί]—.

II 23 37 πόσα δ' ἄλλα πανδοκεῖα κομψά, πόσοι δὲ λειμῶνες. Iure neque Elteri coniecturam λουτρῶνες, neque suam λιμένες in ed. min. repetiuit Schenkl; ad Sirenum enim λειμῶνα (*Odyss.* μ 45) adludit Epictetus, cf. huius capituli 41 προσμείναντες κατασῆπονται ὡς παρὰ ταῖς Σειρήσιν.

II 23 44 τί δὲ κωλύει συλλογισμοὺς ἀναλύοντα ὡς Χρύσιππος ἄθλιον εἶναι, πενθεῖν, φθονεῖν, ἀπλῶς ταρασσεσθαι, κακοδαιμονεῖν;

Transpono ταρασσεσθαι, ἀπλῶς κακοδαιμονεῖν; Cum inter omnia illa, quae κακοδαιμονίας sunt efficientia, etiam τὸ ταρασσεσθαι sit, inepte quae et ipsa causa est, effectui adiungitur. Cf. II 22 6 καὶ ὅλως λυπῇ, φοβῇ, φθονεῖς, ταρασσῇ, μεταβάλλῃ, III 2 3 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ταραχάς, θορύβους, ἀτυχίας, ὁ δυστυχίας ἐπιφέρων ὁ πένθη, οἰμωγάς, φθόνους, III 11 2 φθονεῖτω, ἐπιθυμεῖτω, κολακεύετω, ταρασσεσθῶ.

—λυπέισθω, πενθείτω, θρηνείτω, δυστυχείτω, IV 5 27 ταρασσεσθαι, κακελπιστεῖν, φοβεῖσθαι, πενθεῖν, *Ench.* I 3 ἐμποδισθήσῃ, πενθήσεις, ταραχθήσῃ, μέμνη καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους· haec omnia fient quia τὰ ἀλλότρια ἴδια putas, at qui sola, quae in ipsius potestate sunt, sua duxerit, ei (4) ἐλευθερία καὶ εὐδαιμονία περιγίνεται.

II 24 II τίνος; ἀρά γε ἵππου;—Οὔ.—'Αλλὰ βοός;—Οὔ.—Τί<νος> οὖν; ἀνθρώπου;—Ναί. Genetium restitui.

II 26 I Πᾶν ἀμάρτημα μάχην περιέχει. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀμαρτάνων οὐ θέλει ἀμαρτάνειν, ἀλλὰ κατορθῶσαι, δῆλον ὅτι ὁ μὲν θέλει οὐ ποιεῖ. (2) τί γὰρ ὁ κλέπτῃς θέλει πράξει; τὸ αὐτῷ συμφέρον. οὐκ οὖν, εἰ ἀσύμφορόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ τὸ κλέπτειν, ὁ μὲν θέλει ποιεῖ. (3) πᾶσα δὲ ψυχὴ λογικὴ φύσει διαβέβληται πρὸς μάχην καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἂν μὴ παρακολουθῇ τούτῳ, ὅτι ἐν μάχῃ ἐστίν, οὐδὲν κωλύεται τὰ μαχόμενα ποιεῖν· παρακολουθήσαντα δὲ πολλὴ ἀνάγκη ἀποστῆναι τῆς μάχης καὶ φυγεῖν οὕτως ὥς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ψεύδους ἀνανεῦσαι πικρὰ ἀνάγκη τῷ αἰσθανομένῳ ὅτι ψεύδος ἐστὶ· μέχρι δὲ τοῦτο μὴ φαντάζεται, ὥς ἀληθεῖ ἐπινεύει αὐτῷ (Ita secundum S scribi uoluit editor in praef. ed. min.).

Pro παρακολουθήσαντα in ed. Basil. παρακολουθήσασαν legitur, quod, si libri MSS. exhiberent, libenter recepisset Schweigh., quem miror simul anacoluthiam statuisset et tamen recte interpunxisse (3) διαβέβληται πρὸς μάχην· καὶ κτέ., quo tollitur anacoluthia, sicut miror Schenkelium in ed. min. rursus deleuisse <τις> quod ante μὴ παρακολουθῇ inseruerat, illius tamen interpunctionem non adseruasse: recte enim, dummodo hanc adserues, abest τις; nam (3) διαβέβληται πρὸς μάχην praedicatum est subiecti quod est πᾶσα λογικὴ ψυχὴ, cetera autem, μὴ παρακολουθῇ et παρακολουθήσαντα, non ad ψυχὴν λογικὴν referenda sunt, sed ad ὁ ἀμαρτάνων (1)—furis exemplum (2) in parenthesi accipiatur—, sicuti in sequentibus ὁ ἀμαρτάνων est qui τῷ αἰσθανομένῳ ὅτι τὸ ψεῦδος ψεῦδος ἐστὶ confertur: ut hic, sic ille simulac 'pugnam' uidet absistit. Et aptissime haec in uersione latina, qua editio Schweighaeuseriana instructa est, redduntur 'Omnis uero rationis particeps anima offenditur repugnantia: et quoad quidem hoc non intelligit, esse se in pugna, nihil eum prohibet, quo minus pugnantia faciat'.

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(To be continued.)

SIGNOR FERRERO'S RECONSTRUCTION OF CAESAR'S FIRST COMMENTARY.

THE credibility of Caesar's account of his campaigns against the Helvetii and Ariovistus has recently been attacked anew by Signor Ferrero, whose fame, rapidly acquired, is not only European but Transatlantic, and who has conducted his case with more ability than his predecessors and on entirely new lines. I do not think that it will be a waste of time to analyse the article in which he has set it forth.¹

Let me begin by summarizing the relevant part of Caesar's narrative.

In 61 B.C. Orgetorix, whom Caesar describes as 'pre-eminent among the Helvetii in rank and wealth,' 'organized a conspiracy among the [Helvetian] nobles in the hope of making himself king, and persuaded the Helvetii to undertake a national emigration.' He told them that they 'could easily achieve dominion over the whole of Gaul'; and as they were dissatisfied with their own territory they readily listened to him. Accordingly they proceeded to make preparations and resolved that the emigration should take place two years later. Orgetorix undertook a political mission to various Gallic tribes, in the course of which he persuaded Casticus and Dumnorix [the leaders of the Nationalist or anti-Roman parties among the Sequani and the Aedui], to form a triumvirate with himself for the purpose of obtaining sovereignty over their respective tribes and making themselves joint rulers of Gaul. Orgetorix's design was revealed to the Helvetii, who summoned him to take his trial for treason. He succeeded with the help of his retainers and slaves in overawing his judges, but the magistrates raised a force to crush him, and he died, perhaps by his own hand. The Helvetii, however, continued their preparations, and induced four other tribes to join them. In March, 58 B.C., the whole host, numbering 368,000 souls, of whom one fourth were fighting men, assembled near Geneva, intending to cross the Rhône and march through the Roman Province. Caesar, on receiving this news, 'promptly quitted the capital, pushed on as fast as he could possibly travel into Further Gaul, and made his way to the neighbourhood of Geneva. As the entire force in Further Gaul amounted only to one legion, he ordered as many troops as possible to be raised throughout the Province, and directed that the bridge at Geneva should be broken down.' The Helvetii asked him for permission to march through

¹ Guglielmo Ferrero, *The Greatness and Decline of Rome* (Eng. trans.), ii. 1907, pp. 336-51.

the Province, which he refused, in the belief that they would commit depredations; and when they attempted to force a passage he stopped them. They then obtained leave from the Sequani, through the mediation of Dumnorix, to take the route leading through the Pas de l'Écluse, to the Saône. Caesar ascertained that their ulterior object was to march through the country of the Aedui (which comprised the departments of the Saône-et-Loire and the Nièvre, and parts of the Côte-d'Or and the Allier) and settle in the country of the Santones,—the fertile basin of the Charente. As they would there be in dangerous proximity to the western districts of the Roman Province, he determined to stop them, and accordingly returned to Cisalpine Gaul, raised two new legions, withdrew three from their winter quarters, and hastened back to the district situated in the angle between the Rhône and the Saône. The Helvetii were at this time ravaging the lands of the Aedui, who, with the Ambarri and the Allobroges, applied to Caesar for aid. Thereupon he intercepted and destroyed the Helvetian rearguard, which had not yet crossed the Saône, and crossed it himself. The Helvetii in alarm attempted to negotiate, but, failing to obtain satisfactory terms, marched northward up the Saône valley, followed by Caesar, who ultimately defeated them [about three miles north-west of Toulon-sur-Arroux].

Some years before Caesar came to Gaul the Aedui and the Arverni were striving for supremacy. After a prolonged struggle the Arverni conjointly with the Sequani enlisted the aid of Ariovistus, who crossed the Rhine with about 15,000 men, and was reinforced by successive hordes until in the first year of Caesar's proconsulship his host amounted to 144,000, [of whom perhaps three-fourths were women and children]. He inflicted a series of defeats upon the Aedui and their dependents; and the Aedui were compelled to give hostages to the Sequani. Diviciacus [an Aeduan Druid] accordingly undertook a journey to Rome and solicited aid from the Senate, which he failed to obtain; but in 61 B.C. the Senate decreed that whoever might at any time be Governor of Gaul should, consistently with his duty to the republic, take steps to protect the Aedui and the other allies of the Roman People.¹

In the following year Cicero told Atticus that the Aedui had recently suffered a defeat [evidently at the hands of Ariovistus], and that the Helvetii were raiding the Province. He added that the Senate had decreed that the consuls should draw lots for the two provinces of Gaul—Cisalpine and Transalpine—that troops should be levied, and that envoys with full powers should be sent on a mission to the several Gallic communities to dissuade them from joining the Helvetii.² Not long afterwards (soon after the 12th of May) he wrote again, remarking that Gaul was reported to be tranquil, but that Metellus Celer, one of the consuls, was not at all pleased with this news: 'I suppose,' said Cicero, 'he is hankering after a triumph.'³

To return to Ariovistus. Caesar says that he did not allow the Sequani

¹ *B.G.* i. 31, 35, § 4; vi. 12.

² *Att.* i. 19, § 2.

³ *Id.* 20, § 5.

to enjoy their victory long, but took possession of one third of their territory and [evidently after Diviciacus's unsuccessful mission] defeated the united Gallic forces in a decisive battle at a place called Magetobriga.¹ In 59 B.C. the year of Caesar's consulship, Ariovistus applied to the Senate for the honorary titles of King and Friend, which were conferred upon him with Caesar's consent if not on his initiative.²

Signor Ferrero insists that the alliance of Rome with the Aedui, on the one hand, and with Ariovistus on the other, is inexplicable unless something had occurred to change the situation in Gaul and convince the Romans that a reconciliation between Ariovistus and the Aedui was both probable and expedient. The change was produced, according to Signor Ferrero, by the aggressive activity, alluded to by Cicero, of the Helvetii; and he argues that it was 'to the interests of Romans, Suevi [the followers of Ariovistus], and Aedui alike to unite against' them. 'The Senate,' he continues, 'had hoped to provide for emergencies by the decree to which Cicero refers, while another section of opinion, represented by Metellus and Caesar, undertook to supplement these precautions by the alliance with Ariovistus.' Signor Ferrero conjectures that, public interest having now been awakened in Gallic affairs, 'the prevalent spirit of imperialism intervened to give a new direction to the purely defensive policy which the Senate had in view. A coterie of politicians,' he continues, 'proposed to use this policy to kindle a war which was to be as lucrative and as glorious as the campaigns of Lucullus and Pompey in the East.' The leader of this coterie was Metellus, who 'first hit upon the idea of using the migration of the Helvetii to stir up a war in Gaul.' 'It seems quite clear,' says Signor Ferrero, 'that it was the Helvetian design of founding a great Gallic empire which had obliged the Senate to take defensive measures, and that these defensive measures were transformed into aggression by the prevalent influence of imperialism.' But, he says, when we read the first book of the *Commentaries* we find that 'the Helvetii had not the slightest ambition to found a great Gallic empire, and that the "Helvetian peril" was a bogey of the imagination.'³

I engage to show in the course of this paper that what Signor Ferrero calls the alliance of Rome with Ariovistus is susceptible of only one explanation, namely, that Caesar thought it expedient to throw a sop to Ariovistus in order to secure his neutrality in case he should himself find it necessary to undertake a campaign against the Helvetii. That it was 'to the interests of Romans, Suevi, and Aedui alike to unite against' the Helvetii I cannot admit: it was to the interests of Romans and philo-Roman Aedui (represented by Diviciacus) to do so; and possibly Ariovistus may have thought that the countenance of Rome would secure him against the contingency of attack;⁴ but the whole tenour of his policy shows that he saw no need for taking any offensive part in such a combination. There is no evidence that Metellus, who died early in the year of Caesar's

¹ *B.G.* i. 31, § 12.

² *Ib.* 35, § 2; 40, § 2; 43, §§ 4-5; 44, § 5.

³ *Op. cit.* pp. 337-40.

⁴ See p. 210, *infra*.

consulship, had anything to do with the so-called alliance of Rome with Ariovistus: there is no reason to suppose that the 'alliance' was designed to 'supplement' (in Signor Ferrero's sense) the precautions taken against the Helvetii, for Caesar, the author of the 'alliance,' was not so foolish as to tie his own hands by using it actively against them; while the ambitious 'coterie of politicians' is the offspring of Signor Ferrero's imagination. So far as we know—and we have nothing to go upon except a supposition of Cicero's—the 'coterie' consisted of Metellus alone. That "the Helvetian peril" was a bogey of the imagination' will only be admitted by critics who think that Caesar ought to have allowed the Helvetii to do what they liked; and, assuming that, after the death of Orgetorix, they 'had not the slightest ambition to found a great Gallic empire' (though in 58 B.C. they were prepared—for a price—to support the ambitious schemes of Dumnorix), it does not follow that they, or at all events Orgetorix, had not had that ambition before.

Signor Ferrero begins his examination of Caesar's narrative by admitting that he 'confirms what Cicero had led us to suppose:—that the Helvetii [had] hoped to carry out their designs by placing themselves at the head of a Gallic coalition'; but he complains that Caesar's account of Orgetorix's schemes is 'far from clear.' 'How,' he asks, 'could Orgetorix expect to put the Helvetian forces at the disposal of his friends [Casticus and Dumnorix]? Did he simultaneously intend to attempt a *coup d'état* to seize the supreme power among his own countrymen? . . . Is it not surprising, if Orgetorix was preparing to attempt a *coup d'état* in his own country, that he should have simultaneously undertaken to support two other *coups d'état*? . . . His conduct would be intelligible if he had sought the support of a foreign power, but why any sane man should thus have increased his risks for no corresponding advantage must remain a mystery.' Signor Ferrero concludes that 'Casticus and Dumnorix played a part in the invasion of the Helvetii which Caesar either did not understand himself or was unwilling to make intelligible'; and he insists that while 'Caesar affects to be surprised that the death of Orgetorix and the discovery of his intrigues did not put a stop to the [Helvetian] migration,' 'his surprise is wholly unjustified by the facts he has himself related.'¹

Signor Ferrero's questions may be easily answered. We know that in Gaul it was common for ambitious adventurers who were rich enough to hire mercenaries to seize sovereign power.² Orgetorix did not 'increase his risks for no corresponding advantage': he increased them, if at all, in order to treble his own strength by taking Casticus and Dumnorix into partnership; in other words, he attempted, like Caesar himself but with less success, to form a triumvirate. I am unable to discern affectation of 'surprise' in Caesar's narrative. Read the passage of which Signor Ferrero complains:—'After his [Orgetorix's] death the Helvetii in no way relaxed their efforts to carry out their intended emigration' (*Post eius mortem nihilo minus Heluetii id quod constituerant facere conantur, ut e finibus suis*

¹ *Op. cit.* pp. 340–1.

² *B.G.* ii. 1, § 4.

exant).¹ Obviously Caesar only means that while the Helvetii condemned Orgetorix's intrigues, they saw no reason for abandoning their intention of bettering themselves by emigration.

Signor Ferrero believes that Caesar had determined before he quitted Rome to take the offensive against the Helvetii because he 'recognized the urgent necessity of repulsing the dangerous invaders.'² Precisely. But, says Signor Ferrero, 'Caesar [in the tenth chapter of his first book] gives quite a different reason for his activity. . . . A trek into Saintonge was an enterprise very different from an invasion of Gaul; yet Caesar makes no attempt to reconcile the two statements. Which are we to believe? Furthermore, if Caesar desired to protect the Province from an attack by the Helvetii from the side of Saintonge, why did he not march towards Toulouse and the Garonne?'³ What is there to reconcile? As Signor Ferrero himself admits, Caesar nowhere pretends that he attacked the Helvetii because they had intended, in conjunction with Casticus and Dumnorix, to 'found a great Gallic empire': he tells us distinctly that this scheme was at an end. But what Signor Ferrero calls 'a trek into Saintonge' (he might just as well speak of the 'trek' of the Usipetes and Tencteri) did not suit Caesar's policy, and he therefore determined to stop it. It *was* 'an invasion of Gaul,' and he still 'recognized the urgent necessity of repulsing the dangerous invaders.' He did not 'march towards Toulouse and the Garonne' because he had to keep in touch with the Helvetii: the reason which led the Helvetii to make for Saintonge by way of the valley of the Saône is self-evident to anyone who knows the geography of Gaul;⁴ and it needs no acumen to see that if Caesar had had any motive for misleading his readers as to the fertile tract which they intended to occupy, he would not have pointed to a district like Saintonge, which might give occasion to the ignorant to cavil. Unless we grant Signor Ferrero's assumption that the proposed 'trek into Saintonge' was harmless, his whole case breaks down.

Caesar endeavours, says Signor Ferrero, to excuse his inconsistency 'by stating that . . . ambassadors of the Aedui . . . came to his camp to ask for help . . . and that it was only then that he decided to attack the Helvetii before their arrival in Saintonge. In other words, he wishes us to believe that the idea of an offensive movement against the Helvetii occurred to him after he had . . . received the Aeduan envoys. But this is obviously a very far-fetched explanation.'⁵

This is pure misrepresentation. Caesar does not state that it was 'only then'—only after the ambassadors of the Aedui asked him for help—that he decided to attack the Helvetii. He says distinctly that when he first learned that they intended to march for Saintonge he realized the danger, and accordingly returned to Italy for reinforcements, which amounted to five legions.

¹ *B. G. i.* 5, § 1.

² *Op. cit.* p. 342.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ Rice Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, 1899, p. 30.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 343.

Signor Ferrero contends that Caesar, in order to justify himself to his countrymen, 'had only to base his explanation on what he himself had said in his opening chapters—on what Cicero wrote to Atticus—namely that the Helvetii desired to found a great Gallic Empire.' Why, then, did he 'have recourse to the confused and incoherent explanations which we have reviewed? . . . There is only one way of explaining what is, on the face of it, an absurdity; we must believe that the fears expressed by Cicero . . . were much exaggerated; that the Helvetii had no plan so ambitious as that of conquering the whole of Gaul; and that . . . this fact had become so notorious that . . . he [Caesar] had no longer the courage to justify his offensive strategy by pleading the necessity of breaking up the nucleus of a future Celto-Helvetian empire . . . [he] found himself obliged to confess either that he had wholly misjudged the purpose and character of the Helvetian migration, or that he had attacked them without due cause. He avoided the dilemma by attempting to prove provocation on the part of the Helvetii.'¹

We have seen that Caesar's explanations were perfectly clear and perfectly coherent. If he would have been justified in preventing the Helvetii from founding 'a great Gallic empire,' why was he not justified in preventing them from seizing Gallic territory? Is it not self-evident that if it had become 'notorious' that the plan 'of conquering the whole of Gaul' had never been formed, Caesar would not have been so foolish as to describe it? He did not lack courage: he merely lacked the temptation to misrepresent facts. Cannot Signor Ferrero see that circumstances had changed; that the triumvirate had been dissolved by the death of Orgetorix; that Caesar narrated the planning of the 'empire' as a relevant historical fact; and that he justified his 'offensive strategy' not by the past but by the present? The 'dilemma' which Signor Ferrero conjures up is imaginary. I need hardly add that he does not attempt to justify the assertion that the 'provocation on the part of the Helvetii' which Caesar circumstantially describes was not given,—in other words, that his eleventh chapter was fictitious. If it is, how does Signor Ferrero propose to account for his having endeavoured to propagate another falsehood which must also have been notorious? And does not Signor Ferrero see that the mere fact of Caesar's having hurried from Rome to Geneva without the five legions for which he was afterwards obliged to return to Italy proves how serious must have appeared to him the danger of allowing the Helvetii to enter the Province?²

The movement of the Helvetii, Signor Ferrero argues, 'must have aimed at something less modest than the migration to Saintonge. . . . For in that case why should the powerful party, of which Dumnorix was leader, have been interested in the success of the movement?'³ If Signor Ferrero means that the

¹ *Op. cit.* pp. 343-4.

² Signor Ferrero indeed holds that Caesar *then* thought that the Helvetii intended to conquer Gaul, and only found out his mistake just before he returned to Italy for reinforcements. But such a host could

not have settled anywhere in Gaul without conquest; and of course they intended to conquer all they could.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 345.

movement must have aimed not only at the migration to Saintonge, but also at something less modest, his argument is superfluous: Caesar himself implies as much. The Helvetii were under an obligation to Dumnorix: therefore he had the right to expect that they would back his ambitious schemes.¹ But when Signor Ferrero forsakes his authority and imagines what the 'something less modest' must have been, I cannot follow him. The reader will presently judge.

Signor Ferrero remarks that 'the Helvetii, who, according to Caesar, desired to move towards the Atlantic coast,' nevertheless marched, after their defeat, 'north-east, that is to say, in the opposite direction.'² Naturally, having been defeated, they were not permitted to move towards the Atlantic coast. 'Caesar,' he continues, 'succeeded at last in making peace, and the majority of the Helvetii decided to return to their old home, while an obstinate minority [belonging to the *pagus Verbigenus*] proceeded *ad Rhenum finesque Germanorum* . . . Why,' he asks, 'did this minority march towards the Rhine? It is clear that when they separated from their compatriots they were not in a position to take any road at random; they must have continued in the direction which they had been following with the rest of the tribe . . . the Helvetii had already turned eastwards.' I beg Signor Ferrero's pardon: they had fled northward until they were caught; and before the battle in which they were defeated they had struck westward from the valley of the Saône with the object of reaching their destination. 'The Helvetii, therefore,' so Signor Ferrero concludes, 'were migrating towards the Rhine.'³ Then why had they tramped westward from Geneva, slowly and wearily, till they struck the Saône?

'Throughout the war,' Signor Ferrero continues, 'Divitiacus acts as Caesar's friend, Dumnorix as protector of the Helvetii. One is therefore strongly tempted to ask whether the migration of the Helvetii was not intended to serve the same end as the negotiations of Divitiacus at Rome; that is . . . to drive back Ariovistus beyond the Rhine.'⁴ What object the Helvetii could have had in going out of their way to attack Ariovistus unless they intended to conquer Gaul I cannot conceive. And if it is true that they were 'migrating towards the Rhine,' how and when did they propose 'to drive back Ariovistus'? Ariovistus was in the plain of Alsace. Let Signor Ferrero look at his map, and ask himself whether a movement more insane than a 'trek' from Geneva to the neighbourhood of Lyons, across the Saône, up the valley of the Saône to the neighbourhood of Mâcon, then westward towards Toulon-sur-Arroux, then northward to the plateau of Langres, and then back again eastward, a hundred miles or more 'towards the Rhine'—a trek in bullock-carts full of non-combatants against a powerful host which there was no motive for attacking—was ever planned outside Bedlam.

Let us, however, assume that this remarkable movement had been planned. Will Signor Ferrero really maintain that after the defeat of the Helvetii it was

¹ *B.G.* i. 18, §§ 8-9.

² *Op. cit.* pp. 344-5.

³ *Ib.* pp. 345-6.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 346.

continued? If they were hostile to Ariovistus, he must have known their design. Yet Signor Ferrero tells us that their shattered and disorganized host moved 'towards the country in which the army of Ariovistus was encamped'!

'It was probably Dumnorix,' says Signor Ferrero, 'and not Orgetorix, who made the proposal to the Helvetii, with the promise of lands in some fertile part of Gaul, while Orgetorix was merely the agent of the Nationalist party among the Helvetii.'¹ Then why was Orgetorix summoned to take his trial, and why did he commit suicide? To guess, as Signor Ferrero does,² that he 'fell a victim to the intrigues of Ariovistus or of the Aedui, or of both,' is hardly a satisfactory answer. And if the Helvetii were strong enough to drive back Ariovistus, were they not independent of Dumnorix, and would they not have preferred to take immediate possession of the fertile lands without going out of their way to undertake the laborious and dangerous enterprise of driving back a powerful king who had not molested them?³

Signor Ferrero then sets his imagination to explain how Ariovistus succeeded in procuring the favour which he solicited from the Senate:—'As soon as he knew that Divitiacus and Dumnorix were both intriguing against him, one at Rome, and the other among the Helvetii, he took alarm lest the two brothers should succeed in forming against him a coalition of Aedui, Helvetii, and Romans,' and therefore himself made overtures to the Senate.⁴ I would suggest that Ariovistus must have known that 'the two brothers were irreconcilably opposed, that Dumnorix would never coalesce with the Romans, and that Divitiacus would not join the Helvetii; moreover, that since Ariovistus did not obtain the favour he asked for until 59 B.C.—two years after the date which Signor Ferrero himself assigns for Divitiacus's futile visit to Rome—it is doubtful whether the 'intrigues' of Divitiacus had anything to do with his action. Signor Ferrero goes on to say that Ariovistus was 'obliged to find some means to conceal from the public the inconsistency of this alliance and that already concluded with the Aedui. The best means of doing this was evidently to demonstrate that Romans, Aedui and Suevi were all menaced by a great common danger. . . . It therefore,' says Signor Ferrero, 'seems to me very probable that Ariovistus took advantage of the Helvetian migration and the ignorance of Roman politicians in order to exaggerate the peril.'⁵ Perhaps. But does Signor Ferrero suppose that if Caesar had been thus deceived, he would not have required from Ariovistus a substantial *quid pro quo*? On the other hand, the bestowal of the titles cost nothing, and would probably keep Ariovistus quiet for the time. I have admitted that Ariovistus may have applied for the titles because he thought that they might be useful in case the Helvetii showed a disposition to molest him; and probably he calculated that the position which he had made for himself would thus receive Roman sanction:

¹ *Op. cit.* pp. 346-7.

² *Ib.* p. 348.

³ I freely admit that one of the motives that induced Casticus to listen to the arguments of Orgetorix

may have been the desire to expel Ariovistus; for Casticus was a Sequanian, and the Sequani were oppressed by Ariovistus.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 347.

⁵ *Ib.*

on the other hand, such titles had often been bestowed by the Senate upon the princes of remote Gallic tribes.¹ Signor Ferrero tells us that Ariovistus's 'request to the Romans for the title of Friend . . . was intended to cancel Rome's alliance with the Aedui': if so, the intention failed. He says that 'Ariovistus was ready to pay any price for the Roman alliance'; but what price the Romans received he does not attempt to guess. At all events there is no reason to suppose that Caesar granted the titles in order to obtain the armed support of Ariovistus against the Helvetii, for, although the Helvetii were formidable enemies, he never asked for it. Had he done so, he would have been shortsighted indeed.

Signor Ferrero asserts that Roman politicians 'had to choose between two alternative policies, the anti-Helvetian and the anti-German'; that 'Caesar decided definitely' in favour of the former, 'as is proved by the alliance which he concluded with the King of the Suevi'; and that his choice was 'a very serious mistake.' Why? Because 'the Helvetian expedition must have been exceedingly popular throughout Gaul, because men hoped that it would contribute to the disappearance of the Germans; and the intervention of the proconsul as the cat's-paw of Ariovistus wounded the pride and the interest of the Nationalists and placed the Romanizing party and Caesar himself in a very difficult position'; for Ariovistus 'had been rescued by Caesar from a formidable enemy without the trouble of moving a single soldier.' Admitting that he has just made 'a somewhat rash hypothesis,' Signor Ferrero pleads that it 'permits us to explain the violent change in Caesar's policy as soon as peace was concluded with the Helvetii.'²

We shall see presently that there was no change in Caesar's policy, the motive of which from first to last was, Gaul for the Gauls and therefore for the Romans. Assuming that 'the Helvetian expedition must have been exceedingly popular throughout Gaul,' Signor Ferrero will not deny that it was popular only with the Nationalists, or rather with those Nationalists who were not in danger of being dispossessed by the Helvetii; and if Caesar's intervention 'wounded the pride and the interest of the Nationalists,' it was welcomed by the philo-Romans. It is amusing to read that he intervened as 'the cat's-paw of Ariovistus,' who must soon have felt that his cat had become a tiger. How 'the Romanizing party' were placed 'in a very difficult position' by Caesar's doing exactly what they wanted—first expelling the Helvetii and then attacking Ariovistus—I cannot understand. Does Signor Ferrero think that Caesar would have done better to court his Nationalist enemies, who were not to be conciliated until they had been crushed, at the cost of alienating his friends?

Signor Ferrero next calls attention to Caesar's story of the interview with the Gallic deputies which preceded his campaign against Ariovistus. He makes fun of Caesar's 'noble outburst of generosity' in resolving to undertake a

¹ *B.G.* i. 3, § 4; iv. 12, § 4; vii. 31, § 5.

² *Op. cit.* pp. 348-9.

'chivalrous war of liberation,' and remarks that 'no one with any experience of politics can take this heroic story very seriously,' for 'Roman policy in general and Caesar in particular knew nothing of sentimental considerations.' He insists that there was 'no decent pretext for the war'; that, as 'Ariovistus was Rome's ally and had kept his engagements,' it was illegal; and that, 'in case of failure, the general who had undertaken such a war would have incurred very serious responsibilities.' Nevertheless, says Signor Ferrero, Caesar was obliged to undertake it 'in order to remove the disastrous impression produced in Gaul by his campaign against the Helvetii,'—a campaign which 'had destroyed the whole basis of his policy, and had only served to increase the power of . . . Ariovistus.' Caesar, he assures us, 'must have perceived his blunder; and in order to lose no time in retrieving it, he boldly broke the alliance which he had himself concluded and declared war on Ariovistus.'¹

Let me recommend Signor Ferrero's readers to check his observations by reading Caesar's own account² of his interview with the Gallic deputies and of the reasons which led him to undertake the campaign against Ariovistus. After reporting the speech in which Diviciacus described the tyranny of Ariovistus and appealed for aid, he says: 'many circumstances forced upon him [Caesar] the conviction that this problem must be faced and solved. First of all, there was the fact that the Aedui, who had repeatedly been recognized as Brethren, indeed Kinsmen, by the Senate, were held in subjection under the sway of the Germans, while their hostages, as he knew, were detained by Ariovistus and the Sequani; and this, considering the great power of the Roman People, he regarded as an extreme disgrace to himself and his country. Besides, that the Germans should insensibly form the habit of crossing the Rhine, and enter Gaul in large numbers was, he saw, fraught with danger to the Roman People. He believed, too, that, being fierce barbarians, they would not stop short when they had taken possession of the whole of Gaul, but would pass into the Province, as the Cimbri and Teutoni had done before them, and thence push on into Italy, especially as the Sequani were only separated from our Province by the Rhône; and he thought it essential to obviate this danger at the earliest possible moment. Moreover, Ariovistus himself had assumed an inflated and arrogant demeanour, which made him quite insufferable.'³ I am not concerned with Caesar's political morality; but to an unbiassed judgment it must be clear that his motives, as described by himself, were neither noble nor generous nor chivalrous nor heroic nor sentimental, but simply prudential. He did not intend to allow Roman prestige to

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 349.

² *B.G.* i. 30-3.

³ 'multae res eum hortabantur quare sibi eam rem cogitandam et suscipiendam putaret, in primis quod Haeduos fratres consanguineosque saepe numero a senatu appellatos in seruitute atque in dicione uidebat Germanorum teneri eorumque obsides esse apud Ariouistum ac Sequanos intellegebat; quod in tanto imperio populi Romani turpissimum sibi et rei publicae esse arbitrabatur. Paulatim autem Germanos consuescere Rhenum transire et in Galliam magnam

eorum multitudinem uenire populo Romano periculosum uidebat, neque sibi homines feroces ac barbaros temperaturos existimabat quin, cum omnem Galliam occupauissent, ut ante Cimbri Teutonique fecissent, in prouinciam exirent atque inde in Italiam contenderent, praesertim cum Sequanos a prouincia nostra Rhodanus diuideret; quibus rebus quam maturime occurrendum putabat. Ipse autem Ariouistus tantos sibi spiritus, tantam arrogantiam sumpserat ut ferendus non uideretur.'

suffer by leaving the allies of Rome in the lurch, or to imperil Roman interests by leaving Ariovistus to do what he pleased. Possibly, if he had failed, he 'would have incurred very serious responsibilities'; but he did not intend to fail. As for the assertion that Ariovistus 'had kept his engagements,' we do not know what his engagements were or whether he had any: we only know that he had not ceased to harass the Aedui and the Sequani. How the successful Helvetian campaign 'had destroyed the whole basis' of Caesar's policy, the immediate object of which had been to rid Gaul, and therefore Italy, of 'the Helvetian peril,' and which had been acclaimed by all the philo-Romans of Gaul, I cannot see; nor (unless we acquiesce in Signor Ferrero's theory, that the Helvetii burned house and home and emigrated, along with their women and children, in order, after making an enormous *détour*, to attack the Germans), how it had 'served to increase the power of . . . Ariovistus.' Signor Ferrero says that Caesar's 'very serious mistake' was 'most probably' due to 'the general ignorance . . . at Rome about Gaul.' But, according to Signor Ferrero, the main object of the philo-Roman Aedui was to get rid of Ariovistus. If the Helvetii were really harmless and they knew it, why should they have tempted Caesar to attack them? Surely it would have been in their power to 'anticipate the Nationalists' by merely urging him to expel Ariovistus. Why, then, should they have kept him in ignorance? Why did he not 'perceive his blunder' before rather than immediately after the battle with the Helvetii, seeing that he was already aware of the enmity of the Nationalists? And as, however unscrupulous he may have been, he was a statesman, is it not evident that he adhered to his purpose of checking the Helvetii after he learned their change of plan because he knew that they were still dangerous to Gaul and to Rome? Unlike his critic, he did not consider that he 'had to choose between two alternative policies, the anti-Helvetian and the anti-German'; he adopted both. Is it likely that the Helvetii, if they had succeeded in overthrowing Ariovistus, would have been less formidable to Rome than Ariovistus himself?

Mere scholars who have not, like Signor Ferrero, had the advantage of intimate acquaintance with practical politics have found no difficulty in accounting for Caesar's having, during his consulship, associated himself with the Senate in bestowing upon Ariovistus the titles of King and Friend. He foresaw that when he went to Gaul he would have to deal both with the Helvetii and with Ariovistus; and to dispose of two formidable hosts separately would be quite as much as he could manage. Ariovistus applied for the titles. If he were humoured, there would be a reasonable prospect of his leaving Caesar unmolested while he was encountering the Helvetii; afterwards, if he showed himself accommodating, Caesar would be able to come to terms with him. Signor Ferrero notes this explanation, but rejects it, remarking that it is 'open to two insuperable objections. First . . . if Caesar had been thoroughly acquainted with the situation in Gaul and with the true character of the Helvetian migration, he would have refused to accept Dumnorix as commander

of his cavalry. . . . The other capital objection is the alliance with Ariovistus. If he had foreseen the inevitability of a war with Ariovistus he would surely never have consented to see him granted the title of friend and ally. No one acquainted with Roman history will believe that Caesar can have deliberately adopted a daring expedient so likely to involve him in serious embarrassment.¹

To take the second 'capital objection' first. We do not know whether Caesar foresaw 'the inevitability of war with Ariovistus'; but, assuming that he did, he was not actually involved in any embarrassment more serious than the embarrassments that beset every general even in a successful war. If we were to accept Signor Ferrero's theory, we should be forced to believe that when Caesar entered upon his Helvetian campaign he had no notion that he would ever have occasion to take any action in regard to Ariovistus, and anticipated that Ariovistus would spontaneously behave like a loyal and submissive 'ally' of the Roman People. Does Signor Ferrero think that Caesar was what Bismarck called Caesar's great German panegyrist,—'a greenhorn in politics'?

Will the other 'insuperable objection' bear analysis any better? Evidently it cannot be sustained unless we must admit that 'the true character of the Helvetian migration' has been for the first time revealed by Signor Ferrero,—that it was 'a trek' undertaken by emigrants, of whom three-fourths were women and children, for the purpose of attacking, at the close of an enormous and wearisome *détour*, a formidable army with which they had no quarrel! Let us, however, assume that Signor Ferrero really has divined 'the true character of the Helvetian migration,' and that Caesar in 59 and 58 B.C. misunderstood it. Why should this assumption constitute an 'insuperable objection' to the old-fashioned view, that Caesar bestowed titles upon Ariovistus in order to keep him quiet? The truth evidently is that Caesar in 59 and 58 B.C. was so far ignorant of 'the true character of the Helvetian migration' that when he accepted Dumnorix as commander of his cavalry he did not know the whole extent of Dumnorix's intrigues: if he knew that he was intriguing at all, it is easy to understand that at that early stage of his career in Gaul he did not feel himself strong enough to impose upon the Aeduan cavalry a nominee of his own, and trusted that he would be able to keep Dumnorix in check. It is equally clear that when he bestowed upon Ariovistus the titles which he asked for he may have known little or nothing about Dumnorix, while he could not fail to foresee that the Helvetii would give trouble, and accordingly took steps to secure the neutrality of Ariovistus.

Signor Ferrero's whole case depends upon four untenable assumptions:—first, that the object of the Helvetii in invading Gaul was to drive out Ariovistus; secondly, that while Caesar's countrymen would have approved his attacking the Helvetii in order to prevent them from founding a Gallic 'empire,' they would have condemned him for preventing them from seizing a fertile

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 351.

tract in Gaul and dispossessing its occupants ; thirdly, that when he charged them with having raided the lands of the Aedui, the Ambarri, and the Allobroges, he lied ; and lastly, that he made an 'alliance' with Ariovistus in order to purchase his aid (which he never utilized) against the Helvetii. I venture to say that the famous historian has entered a path which does not lead to historical truth. It is dangerous to mate scepticism with imagination ; for the offspring thereof will be illegitimate fiction. If a document which you can neither get behind nor check appears incredible, brand it if you will, but beware of trying to reconstruct it. I hope that, notwithstanding Signor Ferrero's present vogue, not his article but Caesar's *First Commentary* will continue to be accepted as the authentic source.

T. RICE HOLMES.

ON CLEMENS ALEXANDRINVS, *STROMATEIS*, IV. 23.

I MAY venture to offer another belated¹ suggestion on the text of Clement.

In *Str.* iv. § 23 Antiphanes is quoted. ἔμπαιιν δὲ Ἀντιφάνης ὁ κωμικός, ὁ Πλούτος, φησί, πλέον θάτερον βλέποντας παραλαβὼν τυφλοὺς ποιεῖ. Syllburg reads θατέρου.

Stobaeus, *Flor.* 93. 20, gives the passage thus:

ὁ δὲ πλούτος ἡμᾶς, καθάπερ ἱατροὺς κακός
τυφλοὺς βλέποντας παραλαβὼν πάντας ποιεῖ.

Professor Joseph Mayor (*Class. R.* 1895, p. 98^b) proposes ἱατροῦ τρόπον. 'The first syllable of τρόπον may have been lost after the preceding -τρον and -πον changed into πλέον.' The transposition θατέρου πλέον, here implied, Professor Mayor tells me he found in the edition of Klotz. It is true that Klotz gives it without variant, but from what he says in his preface of the way he dealt with Clement's quotations from poets, one must suspect that he transposed the words without manuscript authority, so that πλέον with the remaining words might form an iambic line, and he prints the line as such. Elter (cit. Stählin) emends ἱατροῦ for θατέρου. It is unlikely however that the text was without κακός or an equivalent.

It may be suggested—and Prof. Mayor thinks the suggestion worth recording—that θάτερον conceals καθάπερ. Possibly it conceals more of the text of Stobaeus: for the scribe may have passed from the ρ of καθάπερ to that of ἱατρούς: κακός then being lost by homoeoteleuton—καΘΑΠΕΡιαΤΡΟΣκακΟΣ; or the process may have been καΘΑΠΕΡκακοςιαΤΡΟΣ, for the quotation, as seen in the second verse, does not follow the order of the original, and may have neglected metre.

Such phenomena are well known, but I may refer to Suidas 1808 (Gaisford) for an example where more than two lines are lost between two instances of οἱ μέν, as comparison with another source proves. Cf. also Suidas 2466, where ΑΠΟτωνΠΟΛΕΜΙΩΝ has become ἀπολεμίων and then τῶν ἀπολεμίων: and, for the effect of a single letter, ανῑ corrupted from ἀντὶ τῶν ῑς (ΑΝτιτωΝΙΣ).

It is more difficult to suggest an explanation of πλέον, which replaces, in

¹ See *Class. Quarterly*, Oct. 1908, p. 293.

the text of Clement, ἡμᾶς after πλοῦτος in the text of Stobaeus. Perhaps πλέον, though it may be related to something in the original, is mainly an emendation, θάτερος being changed at the same time to θατέρων (Syllburg's text) or θατέρων (Grotius' text), so that πλέον θατέρων βλέποντας meant 'people with unusually clear vision.' It may have nothing to do with ἡμᾶς. Indeed Gaisford quotes (Stob. l.c.) as from 'Grotius mss.' the text of Clement in the form ὁ πλοῦτος ἡμᾶς πλέον θατέρων βλέποντας κ.τ.λ. As Mr. Bywater points out to me, the reference is to the manuscript notes of Grotius which Gaisford refers to in his preface, p. x: but I have been unable to discover the variant, combining ἡμᾶς and πλέον, in the printed works of Grotius. In his edition of Stobaeus he does not quote Clement's version at all. In his 'Excerpta ex tragoediis etc., emendata etc.,' curiously enough, he gives the imperfect version of Clement only, but reads πλέον without ἡμᾶς, and gives no variants in his notes on the readings (p. 978). In his commentary on S. Matthew, ch. v., he quotes Stobaeus' text of Antiphanes, without mentioning that of Clement. From the silence of Stählin may be inferred that he knows no version of the text of Clement which combines ἡμᾶς and πλέον.

Perhaps, however, the πλέον was not an entire invention, but depended on some relic of πάντας. As has been observed, the text of Clement does not keep the order of the words in Stobaeus, τυφλοὺς being put after παραλαβὼν in the place of πάντας. Perhaps the original, in Clement, had πάντας before καθάπερ; without ἡμᾶς, which would not be necessary. Then the scribe may have passed from the α of πάντας to the first α of καθάπερ, causing the loss of the first two letters of καθάπερ as well as of the last four of πάντας—ΠΑνταςΚΑΘΑΠΕΡ . . . ΟΣ. The resulting ΠΑΘΑΠΕΡΟΣ or ΠΑΘΑΤΕΡΟΣ might then be emended into πλ<έον> θατερων so as to give πλέον θατέρων βλέποντας the above meaning.

The original text then of Clement was perhaps ὁ πλοῦτος, φησὶ, πάντας καθάπερ ἰατρὸς κακὸς (or κακὸς ἰατρός) βλέποντας παραλαβὼν τυφλοὺς ποιεῖ: but it must be confessed that there does not seem to be material for a convincing emendation.

In my article in the *Class. Quarterly* for last October, the last line should read καταχρωμένης τῆς ψυχῆς τῷ θυμῷ.

J. COOK WILSON.

SOME COPTIC LEGENDS ABOUT ROMAN EMPERORS.

I VENTURE to call the attention of classical scholars to two legends about Roman Emperors gleaned amid the arid waste of theological nonsense which passed for literature among the Copts, in the hope that they may have better luck than I have had in tracing them to some classical source. The first is taken from MS. Par. Copte 131⁵, fol. 40, a single leaf of what seems to be a geographical and historical encyclopaedia.¹ The writer who is treating in a very discursive way of Ethiopia, states that Nero or Domitian—a strange pair to run in double harness—caused an island in the Red Sea to be watered with oil. The description of that island is mixed up with a mention of the original divisions of the Indians—a term which as usual in early days embraces both Indians and Ethiopians,—and their subsequent changes; and as that too may be of interest to students of ancient geography, I will translate the passage in full.

“Now we will speak of the position of the mountain which Nero or Domitian caused to be watered with oil. It is in the sea which is called Red on the way towards the land of India. There is a lot of difference in the Indians as people say. They were at first nine kingdoms, which are these: The Ababastroi, the Ameritai, the Axōmitai, the Adoulitai, the Bougaioi, the Daianoi, the Sabēnoi, the Dibēnoi, the Sirindibēnoi. But now they have increased, for they have separated and ceased to be connected with one another. The Dibenoi have separated from the Fish-eaters: the Sirindibinoi have separated from the Hole-dwellers: the Lentibēnoi have separated from the Eueilaioi. Of these I have spoken when I treated of history.

And this mountain which is called the Emerald place² belongs to the Romans, and is a little island by itself opposite Berenice, the place where the ships of India which come to Egypt anchor. It is distant from the shore a day's journey of a ship with a good wind behind it, that is to say 35 stadia. And Berenice is near it in the neighbourhood of Elephantine and Talmas.”

The territory here assigned to the Indians corresponds fairly with that claimed by the king who erected the Adulitic inscription and by king Aeizanas;³ only it is more extensive. Their kingdoms centred round Axum and Adulis, and included land on the opposite coast of the Red Sea. That

¹ Mr. W. E. Crum has kindly pointed out to me, since I wrote this article, that this leaf is a fragment of the *De Gemmis* of Epiphanius. The Coptic text, of which other fragments have been published by Crum (Catalogue of the Coptic MSS. in the Brit. Mus. No. 180) and Zoega (Cat. Codd. Copt. Borg. No. 255), is very much fuller than the Greek text, and in places fuller even than the expanded Latin version.

This passage corresponds to coll. 296 (Gr. text) and 328–331 (Lat. text) of Migne's ed. of Epiphanius (Patr. Gr. 43). The whole passage about the Indians is omitted in the Greek.

² The word used is the Greek adjective *σμαράδι-δινον*.

³ Dittenberger, *Orientis Gr. Inscriptiones selectae* (Leipz. 1903), vol. i. Nos. 199, 200.

land consisted chiefly of the south-west corner of Arabia, where dwelt the Homēritae, or Ameritae, in the south, and above them the Sabaioi, here called Sabenoi. The Hole-dwellers, Trōglodutai, occupied the sea coast immediately south of Egypt, between Berenice and Adulis; and parallel with them inland were the Blemmues. The latter are here referred to as Bougaioi from the name of one of their tribes. The name occurs in Aeizanas' inscription in the form *Βουγαίται*, in Epiphanius as *Βούγεα*, and in the Adulitic inscription as *Βεγά*. On the latter passage Cosmas Indicopleustes, who copied the inscription in the sixth century, adds the note *τοὺς Βλέμμυας οὕτως γὰρ καλοῦσιν οἱ Αἰθίοπες* referring to the words *Ἀταλμῶ καὶ Βεγά*.

Such of the other names as are intelligible to me lie further east outside the kingdom of the Ethiopian monarchs. The Fish-eaters (*Ἰχθυοφάγοι*) inhabited the east coast of Arabia. The Sirindibenoι are no doubt the inhabitants of Ceylon, still called Serendib in Arabic. The name was known to Cosmas, a native of Alexandria, and occurs in the MSS. of his Cosmography in the forms *Σιελεδιβᾶ* and *Σελεδιβᾶ*. Ammianus Marcellinus¹ too mentions an embassy of the Divi and Serendivi to Julian: and no doubt his Divi, who are generally taken to be the natives of the Maldives, are the same as the Dibenoi of our text.² Probably the Lentibenoi should be sought in the same direction: as the ending is the same and means 'island' (Sanskrit *dwīpa*, Hindustani *dīb*).

The Eueilaioi must be the inhabitants of the region referred to in Genesis³ as Eueilat or Eueila (Hebrew Havilah), concerning which Cosmas tells us *Ἐυιλὰτ ἐν τῇ Ἰνδία ἐστί*. Commentators have generally compared the name with that of the Aualitai who peopled the African coast near Bāb-el-Mandeb; though on the strength of another passage of Genesis which implies that Havilah was in Arabia, some infer that the tribe was sufficiently extensive to occupy both sides of the Red Sea, quoting in confirmation the Arabic place name *Ḥuwailah* and Ptolemy's *Ὑναιλα*⁴ in the south of Yemen.

The Daianoι and Ababastroι are more puzzling. Stephanus mentions an Indian people of the name of *Δάονες*, but their position seems to be unknown, and in any case their identity with the *Δαίανοι* cannot be safely asserted. The nearest approach to Ababastroι seems to be the Alabastroι mentioned by Ptolemy and Pliny,⁵ but whether their city was in the nome of Oxyrhynchus as Ptolemy implies or in Upper Egypt as Pliny states, it would seem rather far north for Ethiopians.

As for the island-hill itself, its position is quite definitely fixed. It was opposite Berenice, which is situated in the Sinus Immundus formed by the long peninsula called *Lepte Extrema*. And 'from the end of the cape,'

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus xxii., 7, 10.

² They might however be compared with the Debae or Debedae who according to Diodorus Siculus (iii. 44) were an Arab tribe inhabiting the coast of the Red Sea a little to the north of Mecca. The Latin text in one place reads *Diberii*, in

another *Dibeni*; and instead of *Lentibenoi* it has *Liberii*.

³ Genesis ii. 11.

⁴ Ptol. vi. 7, 41 and Dillmann's *Genesis*.

⁵ Ptol. iv. 5, 29. Pliny, *N.H.* v. 9, 11 and xxxvii. 8, 108. The Latin text reads *Alabastri*.

Murray's guidebook tells us, 'may be perceived the peak of St. John, or the Emerald Isle, Gezeeret Zibirgeh or Semergid, which seems to be the 'Οφιώδης, or serpentine island, of Diodorus.' The Greeks had other names for this island, 'Agathon's Island' and 'Pan's Island':¹ and both Agartharicides² and Strabo³ say topazes were found there. Juba calls it Topazon, adding that it is 300 stadia from Berenice. Why our author should state that it is near Elephantine and Talmas, or better Talmis (modern Kalabsheh), which are both inland on the Nile, is by no means clear. Possibly, as Mr. Griffith suggests to me, the statement may be due to mistranslation of a Greek original: or perhaps it may be the only means he found of expressing that the places had roughly speaking the same geographical longitude.

That however does not in the least explain the legend of the watering of it with oil.⁴ Again I am indebted to Mr. Griffith for pointing out to me that mineral oil is found further along the coast at Gebel-ez-Zeit (the mountain of oil); and possibly the presence of mineral oil on or near the island itself may have started the story. Certainly, if any Emperor performed the mad deed, it must have been Nero and not Domitian: but Domitian's persecution of the Christians impressed his personality so forcibly on the Copts that ever afterwards he recurs as constantly and as inappropriately in their literature as King Charles' head in Mr. Dick's petition.

Needless to say the second legend is concerned with Diocletian himself. Though his name is very frequently abbreviated in Coptic to Dioclé, we hear nothing whatever of his birth at Doclia in Dalmatia. Instead we are frequently told that he spent his youth in the Egyptian nome Psot as goatherd to a landowner there. In the life of Apa Psote, bishop of Ptolemais, that landowner is stated to be Psote's father; while in an Encomium of St. Theodore the General he is represented as Theodore's paternal grandfather.⁵ I fear it would be rash to infer that Theodore, who probably never existed, was Psote's nephew. In his early days, runs the legend, Diocletian was known as Agrippita, or perhaps Agrippides, as the name generally occurs when his old friend the devil addresses him in the Votive. Moreover his habits were peculiar, and he had an uncanny way of playing on a flute which much upset the puritanical community in which he lived, especially the serious-minded Psote. When the latter found Diocletian's goats dancing to the tune of the flute, their giddy behaviour weighed so heavily on his soul that he denounced Diocletian as a servant of the devil and retired into the desert to become a hermit. Shortly afterwards a war with the Persians broke out, and the Emperor sent a recruiting

¹ Pliny *N.H.* vi. 33, apparently drawing his information from Juba, mentions only two islands in the Red Sea, Sapirine and Scytale. It looks as though Sapirine was another name for this island: but Ptolemy iv. 5, 35 notices as Σαπφειρηνή νῆσος, which he distinguishes from Ἀγάθωνος νῆσος.

² *Geogr. Gr. Min.* i. p. 170.

³ Strabo xvi. 4, 6. He too calls it 'Οφιώδης.

⁴ According to the Greek and Latin texts it was oil

turned green by preservation in copper vessels which was used to improve the colour of the stones.

⁵ An abstract of the life of Psote is given in Amélineau's *Actes des Martyrs Coptes*. The encomium on Theodore (*Vat. Copte* 65 ff. 30-98) I hope shortly to publish myself. The story is also found in many of the martyrdoms published in Hyvernat's *Actes des Martyrs de l'Égypte*, and in the Ethiopic versions published by Pereira.

officer to Egypt. He visited Psoi, was much struck with the personal appearance of Diocletian and carried him off. If we are to believe the Coptic writers, Roman recruiting officers always were much struck with the airs and graces of some Egyptian. Exactly the same tale is told of John, the father of St. Theodore the General, and in both cases the lucky youths escaped what the Copts appear to have regarded with horror and fear, military service.

Diocletian got a post in the emperor's stables; and there he fluted away as cheerily and effectively as ever. The terpsichorean antics provoked in the king's horses attracted the attention of the emperor's¹ eldest daughter; and, as the levity of her heart prevented her from realising the full enormity of dancing, she was not affected in the same way as Psote. Contrariwise she formed so good an opinion of her father's graceless stable-boy that she straightway resolved to marry him; and, being a woman, she very soon got her way. On the death of her father in the wars, Diocletian succeeded to the throne.

There is very little, I fear, in this legend to claim the attention of serious historical students. Maspero² refers the legend of Diocletian's birth in Egypt to a Byzantine source; but he does not quote that source, and its existence seems at least as problematical as that of Mrs. Harris. Probably it was merely ultra-patriotism which caused the Copts to claim their worst persecutor as a native of their own land. The legend would indeed hardly be worth mentioning, were it not that in some cases it is connected with an account of the outbreak of the persecution of the Christians by Diocletian, for which rather more can be said. If one seeks in the ordinary accounts for the moving power which stirred Diocletian to undertake the persecution, the answer is short and simple; Galerius persuaded him. But if one goes a step further back and tries to find out what motive Galerius had or what arguments he used to persuade the emperor, no reasons are given save the rather inconsequential piece of information that his mother worshipped the gods of the mountains and that he himself was a blood-thirsty ruffian. Piety in a mother does not by any means prove bigotry in her son; nor is the argument that the Christians always were under suspicion sufficient reason for Diocletian's sudden change of front, unless some strong proof that suspicion was well founded could be adduced. And Diocletian was too reasonable a man to count the fact that an old lady looked to the hills from whence came her help and that her son regarded murder as a fine art a full and sufficient reason for starting a persecution. The Coptic account on the other hand does supply a more or less reasonable ground for Diocletian's action.

According to that account war broke out again with the Persians in Diocletian's reign, and in the first campaign, the Persian king's son Nicomedes was taken prisoner and entrusted to the charge of the archbishop of Antioch. The king sent messengers offering the youth's weight in gold as ransom to

¹ What emperor is a little doubtful. Kondelianus is the name given in the Acts of Psote, but other passages suggest Numerian.

² *Revue Critique*, Année 42, No. 41 (13 Oct. 1908), pp. 274-6.

the archbishop; but on the first occasion the matter was referred to the king and the offer refused unless the Persian king came himself and made a treaty. A second attempt to bribe the archbishop was more successful and he let the youth go secretly, giving out that he had died in captivity. Soon after his release the Persians renewed their attacks on Roman territory; and in the first battle there was the dead man fighting in the front ranks of the enemy. He was again captured, questioned, and the archbishop's treachery discovered. Diocletian questioned the archbishop who still asserted that Nicomedes had died; and, when challenged to take an oath to that effect publicly at high mass, he did so. Nicomedes was produced to refute him; and Diocletian, finding that the God whom he had previously worshipped did not punish perjury as summarily as he wished, slew the archbishop, abjured Christianity and began his persecution of the Christians.

Though I am far from asserting that events happened as here recorded, the monk's account is not entirely unsupported by history. There was war with Narses, king of Persia, in 296-297 A.D.; and, though the Romans under Galerius were badly defeated in the first year, in the second they captured not one son only but several of Narses' wives and children. The captives, we are told, were conveyed to a place of safety; and, considering the importance of Antioch, it is by no means unlikely that that place was Antioch. There is then no inherent improbability in the tale that a relative of the Persian king was entrusted to the archbishop of Antioch, and that he betrayed his trust. Nor is the little known of Cyril,¹ who was archbishop at the time, inconsistent with that supposition. He was imprisoned in 297 A.D., the very year in which the capture of important Persian hostages took place; and the reasons of his imprisonment are nowhere clearly stated. Of course the persecution is hinted at, but the persecution did not begin till six years later. If his imprisonment was really an unmerited foretaste of it, then one would have expected his glory to be all the greater, as one of the first of the martyrs; yet there seem to have been grave doubts whether he could be regarded as a martyr at all, though he died in prison in 300 A.D. Altogether the silence of the Christian writers who mention Cyril is suspicious; and the very unlikeliness of a libel on a church dignitary by a hagiographical writer is the strongest argument in defence of the Coptic monk's statement.² The date and the place are equally favourable. Antioch lay in Galerius' province; and, if he were hostile to the Christians, the treachery of its archbishop would supply him with the very argument most likely to win Diocletian's acceptance of his views.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

¹The archbishop is generally nameless in the texts, though once or twice he is called Gaius or Acacius, neither of whom were archbishops at that date. Cyril must be intended.

²Peeters in the *Analecta Bollandiana* (xxvii. Bruxelles, 1908, pp. 69-73) regards the story as an attack on the Chalcedonian clergy, though the events took place long before the council of Chalcedon.

AGAR'S HOMERICA.

MR. AGAR has collected his adversaria on the Odyssey which have been enjoying cold storage these many years in the blue depths of the *Journal of Philology*, and increased them by about three-quarters. He has produced a very interesting and valuable book, the most important contribution to the linguistic history of the Homeric text that has been made for a long time. Mr. Agar holds that the language of Homer represents the original 'Achaean' speech, and that its abnormalities in vocabulary, word-formation and metre are the result of natural unforced processes of transmission. This position, held by so well equipped and so trenchant an investigator as Mr. Agar, is reassuring. It does not involve any of the mythological factors of the Higher or the Lower Criticism still recommended among us by Mr. Leaf, Father Browne and Mr. Verrall—Pisistratus, Onomacritus, the Ionian conquest of Smyrna, the Thessalian Iliad, the original Achilleis,—and disagrees with Professor Murray's sinister diagnosis 'clear away the Attic surface and there rises beneath another surface with another set of corruptions, where Ionic rhapsodes have introduced just the same elements of confusion into an Aeolic or at least a pre-Ionic language.¹ The confusion of tongues is deep down in the heart of the Homeric dialect, and no surgery in the world can cut beneath it' (*Rise of the Greek Epic* p. 214). The last ten years' work in Comparative Philology (especially Kretschmer's researches *K.Z.* xxxi. 1898, *Glotta* i. 1907) has made it clearer and clearer that the rule-of-thumb for distinguishing the historical non-Dorian dialects does not apply to the heroic and post-heroic age, and that the terms 'Aeolic' and 'Ionic' in their usual sense should disappear from the history of Homer. The Homeric tongue derives directly from the pre-colonial language of Greece wherein two elements are discernible, the original Ionian (or Pelasgian) and the Achaean or North-Greek which overlaid it.²

¹ Mr. Murray hedges. The Aeolic Iliad is now given up even by the *vieille garde* (e.g. by Bechtel, acc. to *Glotta* i. 4. 373). With it goes all relation between Greek epos and the Thessalian race whether of Europe or Asia. Neither direct tradition nor the subject of the poems supports such a connection. Herr E. Meyer in the last edition of his *Geschichte des Altertums* (vol. i. 2. p. 721) has been unable to revise his views in this particular. The dying cause is supported with natural constancy by Herr

P. Cauer in the second edition of his *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*.

² The question is naturally far from settled, but the coincidence of the linguistic strata of Kretschmer (1 Ionian or Pelasgic, 2 Achaean, 3 Dorian) with the same strata inferred on ethnological grounds by Ridgeway, and demanded by Mackenzie (*B.S.A.* xiii.) as the result of the Cretan evidence, affords a certain presumption of truth.

The word-stock of Homer agrees, as everyone knows, with two widely separated representatives of this language, Arcadian and Cyprian; sporadic terminations such as φυλάκεσσι, κεκλήγοντες, ἔμμεναι, which used to be regarded as palpable Aeolic, are due to the Achaeae element in the original continental language; other features, $\bar{a}$ (in λαός), σμ-, -λλ-, are held in common with the most northerly representative of 'Ionian,' Attic; and vocalised digamma (av, ev), the old infallible token of Aeolic, is at least partly panhellenic (Solmsen, *Griech. Laut. u. Verslehre*, p. 168). This Pelasgo-Achaeae tongue, when transported across the sea, proceeded along the path of change (due in the first instance to the intonation of the half-Carian children) which led to the inscriptions of the 6th and 5th century. The stage of this development which we find in the poems (a stage which Zenodotus wished to carry further) gives a *terminus ante quem* for the composition, by the father of the sons of Homer, who lived in Chios and enjoyed the use of his eyes, of the forty-eight books.¹ After this date, early in colonial history, no organic changes were made in the language, or organic additions to the text. Surface-change of speech, and rhapsodic and scribal licence played over it until the invention of printing; but the genius of Homer canonized, as a whole, the work of art he had created out of Saga. In the way of this or a similar view stood many formal and metrical enormities; these Mr. Agar seeks to remove in this excellent book. Before I scrutinise it in detail I am bound to notice three general defects: inordinate length, an English hardly up to the level of the subject, and a humour not always easy to follow. Where art and language are in question, these qualities are not unimportant.

Homeric metrical phenomena turn mainly on the results of the disappearance of the digamma and upon Hiatus Licitus. The former question has solidified of late; the inscriptions at one end give us definite evidence that so many words bore this letter, and Kretschmer's investigations shew that the original Asiatic Ionians possessed it; at the other, papyrus at length lets us see the process by which the hiatuses consequent on its disappearance were filled. The question which still remains is whether this consonant had less metrical force than other consonants, and whether this force varied with the foot. A doctrine on this subject has been built up by Hartel, Schulze, Solmsen and Sommer (*Glotta* i. 2). Mr. Agar does not state his attitude to this semi-vocalic letter in thesis, and when he publishes his companion volume on the Iliad we shall be interested to see if he writes τὸ κρήγυρ νφεῖπας in obedience to the doctrine of 'Schallstärke.' His objection to οἱ πατρός μὲν ἔς οἶκον β 52, ἔνθα μὲν ἐπτάετες μένον ἔμπεδον εἶματα δ' αἰεὶ η 259, ᾤχεθ' ἄμ' Ἀτρεΐδῃσιν ἔς Ἴλιον ρ 104, διδάξαμεν ἐργάζεσθαι χ 422, εἴ τί μοι εἶποι ψ 91, μήτε τις οἰκῶν π 302, seems to shew that he thinks (with the reviewer) the doctrine artificial, and that the digamma in its origin was a real consonant producing ordinary consonantal effects in metre. (Hence I may say I printed ι 530 πτολίπορθον οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι, regarding this in view

¹ Had we the information to enable us to say at what period the Achaeo-Ionian language of Ionia said παιήων and Μαχάων, νησι and Ναυσικάα,

ἐρατεινός and ἀργεννός, εὔαδε and ἄδε, the Homeric question on its chronological side were settled.

of the variant -ιον and ι 504 as another exception to Wernicke's Law).¹ As neat alterations to preserve digamma I quote λ 561, μ 419, ν 260, and especially, α 259 ἐξαιόντ' Ἐφύρης παρὰ Ἴλου Μερμερίδαο for ἐξ Ἐφύρης αἰνόντα παρ' Ἴλου Μερμερίδαο. Mr. Agar does not condescend to quote the justification. It is Z 493. On the other hand one may doubt οὐδ' ἀπότιτα for οὐδέ ποτ' ἴσα β 203, ἐπεὶ τόο ἴεται αἰνῶς for ἐπεὶ νύ περ ib. 325 (? ἐπείνυν ἴεται cl. K 105 ὅσα πού νιν ἐέλπεται), the removal of εἴπατε δ' εἴσω after ἀολλέες γ 427, and the substitution of ἀρέσθαι for ιδέσθαι γ 233 (ε 209, 220); ικέσθαι is attested α 21, β 152.

Hiatus undetermined by a lost consonant, or as it is commonly called, Hiatus Licitus, is in a much more uncertain position. The Greek ear was sensitive to hiatus, in prose as well as verse; what account can be given of the growth of hiatus, if it is unoriginal, in heroic verse? Hoffmann and Ahrens collected the usage (of the vulgate) and laid down as rules that the most frequent hiatuses were legitimate. We require a more organic theory. Did the disappearance of the digamma perhaps produce other hiatuses, by analogy? But the rhapsodes and scribes went all lengths to close up digamma-hiatuses with γ' and τ', exactly as Mr. Agar fills hiatus liciti. Did then the Greek ear really permit gaps at certain places in the hexameter and not at others? If so the reasons must be phonetic; and this is the defect I find in Mr. Agar's treatment. He tilts at innumerable lines and rearranges them with inexhaustible resource: but I do not gather what position he holds—some hiatuses clearly he approves of (ἐν νόστῳ ἀπόλοντο δ 497), or even creates (ἐν πεδίῳ ἀπὸ γ 260)—nor the major premiss he assumes. The method in such a case must be deductive, otherwise the instances are only so many particulars, and to rewrite an hexameter is child's play to Mr. Agar, as to put Ionic into Aeolic was to Fick. Where the line when rewritten gets rid of another and a different difficulty, the force of the proof is lifted a degree. Mr. Agar shews great skill in effecting such coincidences: π 290 ἀλλ' κατήκισται ὅσσον πυρὸς ἵκετ' ἀντμή—the good form κατηείκισται removes the gap; μ 185 νῆα κατὰστησον ἵνα νωϊτέρην ὅπ' ἀκούσῃς, the transposition of ἵνα and ὅπ' both relieves the hiatus and gives the digamma its proper force: but in many other passages the difficulty other than the hiatus (or lengthening by position) seems imaginary: e.g. ε 330

ὥς τὴν ἄμ πέλαγος ἄνεμοι φέρον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα

Mr. Agar reads ἐν πελάγεσσ', which fills the gap: but when he says ἐν is more true of the raft he contradicts the poet, whose comparison is expressed in terms, ἄμ πεδίον the thistledown, ἄμ πέλαγος the raft. ι 209 ἐν δέπας ἐμπλήσας ὕδατος ἀνὰ εἴκοσι μέτρα: to get rid of -τός ἀνὰ Mr. Agar reads ὕδωρ, saying that ὕδατος ἀνὰ εἴκοσι μέτρα has no 'suitable sense at all.' But the sense of ἀνὰ is the same with ὕδωρ as with ὕδατος. (Mr. Agar's interpretation of μέτρα is clearly right.) Again, λ 613, whatever the difficulties of ὅς κείνον τελαμῶνα ἐῆ ἐγκάτθετο τέχνη, they are not removed by writing ὀλοῇ for ἐῆ; π 390 ἐνθάδ'

¹ Restated by Sommer, *Glotta* i. 2. 146 sqq.

ἀγειρόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐκ μεγάροιο ἕκαστος Mr. Agar emends οὐ δ' ἐκ, saying 'clearly the possessive pronoun cannot be omitted here.' This is only a case of the uniformity which is his guiding principle; and who would omit οὐδ' to put in ἄλλ'? Another case is β 65, where to avoid περικτιόνᾱς ἀνθρώπους he writes περικτιόνων; the same two remarks apply. Uniformity again is the only excuse for writing ὄφρα κε θᾶσσον ὑπὲκ for ὄφρα τάχιστα ὑπὲκ γ 175. In δ 141 εἰκότα ὦδε γενέσθαι the difficulty of interpretation which justifies the alteration εἰκότας is wholly imaginary.

It is also to be noted that Mr. Agar will have nothing of hiatus or position before an aspirate, not even where the aspirate represents a sigma or perhaps a digamma: so ε 265 (ἔτερον) η 125, θ 262, κ 41 (ὁμήν), 432, μ 335, 51, 140, 251 (ἀλιεύς), ν 128, ξ 522, π 11, ρ 206, σ 251, υ 109, ω 58 (ἀλίοιο) κ 44 (ὄττι), β 430 (ὄπλα weapon, Waffen), δ 61 (εἰρησόμεθ'). More flagrant is his neglect of F in κ 6 ἐξ μὲν θυγατέρες, ἐξ υἷες ἡβώνοντες and χ 252 ἀλλ' ἄγεθ' οἱ ἐξ πρῶτον ἀκοντίσαθ', where Mr. Agar emends ἀλλά ἐ' οἷον πρῶτον, with the remark which I am still pondering 'the two last letters of οἷον (-οο) may have been mistaken for the sign of the number six.' Besides hiatus there are three features of Homeric syntax on which Mr. Agar wages relentless war; unemphatic αὐτός, the article, and the conditional optative without κε or ἄν. None of them can be discussed in detail here. They all fall under the same determining condition: to what stage in the Greek tongue do we assign the language of Homer? The data are these: in the 5th century αὐτός is both emphatic (*ipse, idem*) and unemphatic (*is*); the article is article only, with a few exceptional survivals; the pure optative does not imply condition. In the vulgate Homer αὐτός is usually emphatic, in a minority of cases unemphatic; ὁ ἡ τό is usually adjectival, in a minority of cases articular; the pure conditional optative is found. A process therefore is plain, but are we to assume Homer's period was one before the process had commenced? Unless we do, and I do not know what the proof is, Homer's period is only another stage, earlier, but a stage. Mr. Agar's reconstructions are good as a demonstration how the various modernisations might have taken place in a primaeval epic poem, not that they did take place in Homer. I may notice that while the development given to the sense of αὐτός and ὁ ἡ τό agrees with the general tendency of language, that of pure conditional optative taking the place of conditional optative with κεν contradicts them.

Mr. Agar's engine, by which he removes all these rocks of offence, is uniformity, ἀναλογία; and his system of crushing the minority by the majority supplies the most general objection which may be taken to his book. It is true that recurring formulae, combinations and collocations of words have their maximum of effect in epos; but in Homer we are not dealing with natural Saga; conscious art is plain everywhere. My impression is that Mr. Agar puts Homer in a strait-waistcoat such as artist never wore. The argument is often merely numerical; η 18 six δὴ τάχ' expel three δὴ ἄρ', and avoid a hiatus (though in arsi): but how, τάχ' being original everywhere, did ἄρ' with its

hiatus get in in three cases? A quoi bon?¹ But there is perhaps no direct evidence to show what amount of uniformity an artist of 1000–900 B.C. observed. We may judge Mr. Agar's method better by the losses it entails. He extirpates the following: φθίγης β 367, ἐπικρῆσαι η 164, ματή κ 78, ἱμερόεις κ 398, μελέσθω κ 505, στρεφεδίνηθεν Π 792, ἀκήριοι μ 98, πρόβολον μ 251, στερέσαι ν 262, πρόφρων fem. ν 359, κηρόθι ρ 458, τὸ μέλαν δρυνός ξ 12, ῥυδόν ο 426, τεῖν ο 117, ἀγρόται ο 117, θερέω ρ 22, ἐρκίον σ 102, ἀμφονδῖς ρ 237, μορόεντα σ 298, αἰνοπαθῇ σ 201, ἀθεί σ 353, ὀξύνοντα τ 33, ἐρεθίζω τ 44, δακρυπλῶειν τ 121, λάων (part.) τ 228, ὀρώρεται τ 524, πείση ν 23, στείνος χ 460, ὑπερικταίνοντο ψ 3, ἐνωπαδίως ψ 94, αὐχμείς ω 250, ξενίη ω 285, 314; gen. with τίσασθαι γ 206, θυμός as subject κ 415, τὸ μέν=primum λ 363, κέλλω intransitive ι 49, gen. with verbs of hearing ι 456. This list is not exhaustive, but no one I think who reads it will avoid the conclusion that the cacoethes analogiae is exhibited on a rather large scale. To save such a massacre the Pergamenes laid down the other principle, ἀνωμαλία; and in a period which gives us nothing but Homer and a few more thousand hexameters until 550 B.C., this must be held to; we must not trifle with the survivals of five centuries of Greek at the bidding of Homeric uniformity.

I pass to matters of perhaps more general interest. Where Mr. Agar's method allows him to respect the text he is a good exegete. His interpretations of γ 140, δ 684, ε 421, ζ 289, θ 121, λ 338, 584, μ 422, π 41, 181, φ 26 are *unice verae*. His conjectures, which are few, are less acceptable: η 67 γεράσσει for τε καὶ ἔστιν (τε καὶ ἔστιν itself is doomed),² θ 44 φηλήσεται for δηλήσεται, κ 10 περιστεναχίζει' ἀντῇ (no better than the old αὐδῇ), ρ 544 ὠκυτελής, σ 10 ἐλκή (in Mr. Verrall's vein), σ 26 ὁμολοβρός, ψ 93 ἐνὼπ' Ὀδυσῇ ἐφέφισκεν for ἐνωπαδίως ἐσίδεσκεν, ψ 233 εὐχομένοισι for νηχομένοισι. Unfavourable specimens of exegesis are found at δ 244 δαμάσσας, ν 209 ὑποσταχύοιτο (very bad), χ 251 ἀλλ' ἄγεθ' οἱ ἐξ πρῶτον ἀκοντίσατ', 302 νέφεα πτώσσουσαι, φ 402 τοσσοῦτον ὀνήσιος, ω 231 θυμὸν ἀέξων (very bad), ω 377 ἀκτὴν ἡπείροιο (Mr. Agar should have read further in Bérard). Some passages may be considered in detail.

α 226 εἰλαπίνη ἡὲ γάμος; ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔρανος τάδε γ' ἐστίν:

This we are told is a scholion: it is odd that it fell into an hexameter. There is no other case.

β 26 οὔτε ποθ' ἡμετέρη ἀγορὴ γένετ' οὔτε θόωκος.

Οὔτε θέμιστες Mr. Agar. But does he cut out ὀρόωντες whenever he meets it? Θόωκος is an ordinary case of Zerdehnung or diectasis (restated by Ehrlich, *Rh. Mus.* 1908, 107 sq.).

γ 136 'the bastard form αἰπὴν should be removed in favour of αἰπύν.' A hard sentence: πολλός πολύς, πρᾶος πρηύς, ἥμισσος ἥμισυς.

γ 259 ἀλλ' ἄρα τὸν γε κύνες τε καὶ οἰωνοὶ κατέδαψαν
κείμενον ἐν πεδίῳ ἐκάς ἄστεος—

¹ The unlikelihood of change from the supposed original holds in many cases: e.g. λ 257, 273, ξ 214.

² Query περὶ κῆρι τετλήμταί τε καὶ ἐστοί.

"Ἀστεος as Mr. Agar says and the sense shews is right, not ἄργεος: the latter was brought by ἐκὰς from I 246, δ 99, ω 37. His ἀπὸ is easy, but still as ἐκὰς must have been a long time in the line to make ἄργεος the vulgate, Bekker's ἐκὰ deserves consideration, though the comparative philologists, ignavum pecus, have ignored it.

δ 514 sq. Agamemnon's nostos. It is strange that Mr. Agar, like a simple Higher Critic, thinks Ag. was 'driven by a storm to the extremity of the promontory of Argolis' (he cannot mean Argolis); takes out v. 520 ἀψ δὲ θεοὶ οὐρον στρέψαν καὶ οἴκαδ' ἵκοντο, and makes Ag. journey to Mycenae *over land*. And what did he do with his ships, treasure and captives? There is no irony in ἀπήμων, grim or otherwise. The usual storm off Malea caught Ag., as it caught Menelaus and Odysseus, but as the wind turned he was able to continue round the Peloponnese to Lechaeum.

p. 73 'the modernising process, guided by the intuitive vox populi (sic)—is likely to have been applied more freely to the text of the Odyssey than of the Iliad because of the greater popularity of the more romantic and adventurous poem.' Where is the evidence for the greater popularity of the Odyssey?

η 130 ἡ δ' ἐτέρωθεν ὑπ' αὐλῆς οὐδὸν ἦσι
πρὸς δόμον ὑψηλόν, ὅθεν ὑδρεύοντο πολῖται.

Mr. Agar's remarks on πρὸς may pass, but he has an odd idea of Alcinous' water supply. 'A piece of ornamental water' must have decorated the yard. What a sight! Nothing more than a wooden or brick pipe and a cock is wanted, or at most a tank and a step. The water went on into the house, as Mr. Agar says, and Galen will tell him what became of it: xvi. 360 (Kühn) garden air is bad, διὰ τοὺς ὀχετοὺς, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τοὺς ἀποπάτους ἐκκαθαίροντας εἰς τοὺς κήπους, καὶ τὴν μεγάλην δυσωδίαν.

ι 196 βῆν' ἀτὰρ αἴγεον ἄσκόν. Why is αἴγεον 'a later correption'? Is χρύσεος the same? I may notice Mr. Agar preserves his old aversion to ἔαρ, ὄνεαρ, στέαρ, φρέαρ, in which I believe him to be alone. Surely Herodian's observation that the stem before -αρ is long, as far as it applies to these words, is only a codification of vulgate epic usage.

ι 30 ἐν σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσι λιλαιομένη πόσιν εἶναι

This verse is absent in most MSS., Mr. Agar condemns it, but unable to do without it, composes another in its place. Its absence is due to homoeoteleuton with 32.

λ 600 κατὰ δ' ἰδρώς
ἔρρεεν ἐκ μελέων, κονίη δ' ἐκ κρατὸς ὀρώρει.

Mr. Agar objects to ἐκ κρατός because 'the dust really does not rise from his head but from the ground.' A loose boulder rolling down a hill does not produce dust. When an elderly man like Sisyphus takes very violent exercise, his body drips, and a column of steam rises perpendicularly from his head. This cloud is the κονίη.

λ 423

ἀντὰρ ἐγὼ ποτὶ γαίῃ χεῖρας αἰείρων
βάλλον ἀποθνήσκων περὶ φασγάνῳ.

What Agamemnon did is plain; he *clutched the blade*.¹ At the inquest on a moneylender murdered in his shop in Shaftesbury Avenue reported in the *Daily Telegraph* of Nov. 10, 1908, the medical evidence ran: 'the wounds on the deceased's hand were probably due to his having caught hold of the knife.' He was gasping on the δάπεδον after the unequal fight of δ 530 sqq., and Clytemnestra came round to finish him off. Ποτὶ γαίῃ is left with αἰείρων, the place of action of which it defines: 'I lifted my hands on the ground.' Perhaps ἐν γαίῃ or ἐκ γαίης would have been easier, but it is too much to say that ποτὶ is impossible in this sense. (Αἰείρων indeed might be neuter, like ἐπαείρας Herod. ii. 162, αἴρουσα Xen. An. i. 5. 3; but this is a greater assumption.)

σ 158 τῇ δ' ἄρ' ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε θεὰ γλανκῶπις Ἀθήνη
κούρῃ Ἰκαρίοιο περίφρονι Πηνελοπείῃ
μνηστήρεσσι φανῆναι ὅπως πετάσειε μάλιστα
θυμὸν μνηστήρων.

Mr. Agar is not happy here. Persuaded that πετάσειε must mean 'reveal, disclose,' he introduces ἐτάσειε (as he introduces ἐτάξω for ἐρεθίζω τ 44). The meaning is clearly 'excite, stimulate' (ἀναστήσει πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν schol.), ordinarily given by a word literally meaning 'stretch,' to which 'spread' is related in the order of ideas (πέτασσαν and τάνυσσαν are v.l. in the literal sense). Ἐκπετάννυμι is found tropically in later Greek, and ἐκπεπετασμένος is a v.l. on ἐκπεπαταγμένος σ 327. The gloss θέλξειε gives the sense, and is repeated to describe the result of the stratagem 282.

Mr. Agar's remark on δ 93 'smirking hypocrisy' betrays a fundamental misapprehension of heroic character; those on Z 273 an unfamiliarity with Greek punctuation (how should a hyperbaton be indicated except by two colons?); and I am dumb before the observation on σ 192 κάλλει μὲν οἱ πρῶτα προσώπατα καλὰ κάθηρεν 'it is not only that κάλλει is as Fick says mirum unguentum, *it seems rather to be a sort of modern toilet-soap*.' Toilet-soap! or an ornamental water? It is true the notion started from antiquity (νῦν τὰ μύρα schol. min.) and was adopted by Voss, to whom Liddell and Scott with great propriety oppose κάλλει τε στίλβων. Mr. Agar however, when the priest says 'lavabo manus meas in innocentia,' thinks he uses an antiseptic or an enamel.

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¹This motive I have so far been unable to find on works of art. A victim clutching the arm of

his murderer, is frequent. So is a victim clutching a blade or spear driven into his body.

WENGER'S LEGAL REPRESENTATION IN THE PAPYRI.

Die Stellvertretung im Rechte der Papyri. Von L. WENGER. Teubner: Leipzig. 1906. 8vo. Pp. vi+278. M. 8.

THE legal side of Graeco-Roman papyri, in whose discovery and publication British scholars have taken a leading part, has unhappily been hitherto almost completely neglected in this country. Continental jurists have, however, been more alive to their opportunities, and have been rapidly turning the new material to account in a long series of articles and monographs, of which Prof. Wenger's book is one of the most recent and important. It contains an elaborate study, based on the documents available down to the end of 1905, of the representation of one person by another in public and private affairs. Representation of the state and other corporate bodies by officials, and of one official by another, is treated in the first main section, which will be of especial value to papyrologists. A shorter but adequate discussion of representation in legal processes follows; and the concluding portion of the volume is devoted to delegation in private business. It is in these two latter sections that what is the main problem of the treatise arises, namely whether in the provincial law of Egypt under Roman rule 'direct representation' (*i.e.* the action of A *ex professo* on behalf of B) was recognised in obligatory transactions. Theoretically such representation was excluded by Roman civil law; but in practice Wenger holds that it was admitted, and his view certainly seems to be substantiated by the papyri. It is a fine point, which the lawyers must be left to settle: Mitteis (*Zeitschr. der Savigny-Stiftung* 1907, pp. 478 sqq.) still entertains doubts on the subject. But a layman can appreciate our author's industry in the collection of his materials, and his admirable arrangement and presentation of them. He is rarely to be detected in an oversight such as that on p. 174, where he suggests that the names of women's guardians were sometimes entered on an official register: the false reading in a Vienna papyrus on which that inference is based has been corrected more than once (cf. *Gött. gel. Anzeigen* 1897, No. 6, and P. Oxy. ii. p. 239).

ARTHUR S. HUNT.

GREEK AND LATIN INSCRIPTIONS IN SYRIA.

Greek and Latin Inscriptions in Syria: E. Littmann and W. K. Prentice.

(1) Section A. 1. Ammonitis.

Section B. 1. 'Alā, Kaşr ibn Wardân.

(2) Part III. N. Central Syria, Palmyra, Haurân. W. K. Prentice.
(Heinemann.)

IT is a little difficult to realize the relation of these two books. The volume (2) which contains the inscriptions of N. Central Syria, Palmyra, and the Haurân does not correspond exactly with either section of the scheme proposed for publication (prospectus, p. viii): the pamphlet (1) contains one part of each section. No doubt these are meant finally to be bound with the remaining parts of both sections, A and B; but then the geographical arrangement will be less clear than it might be. In the pamphlet a few Hebrew inscriptions have been included.

All the classical inscriptions are late, but they often throw light on history, religion, and social conditions. More than a hundred of those in Mr. Prentice's volume (2) are definitely dated: they fall into two groups, A.D. 60-250 and 324-609, and most of the others can be placed in one or other group. The ancient religions survived through the first two centuries of our era, and probably later. Most of the deities have Greek names, but some are non-Greek (as the *πατῶν θεοί*, Zeus Madbachos, and Selamanes, compare the Assyrian Shalmânu): the sun and moon occur, both named and in effigy, and there is an altar before a beautiful Greek temple, marking the site of an ancient 'high place,' the deity of which is called *Zeûs Bωμός*. So *Μάδβαχος* is probably the Syriac *madbah*, 'altar.' From the fourth century begin the Christian churches, and the inscriptions are Christian in character. Some of these inscriptions contain scraps of ritual hymns and the like, and they occasionally have a bearing on theological controversy: thus the monophysite phrase *σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς* is added to the trisagion (No. 6). Parts of the liturgy are found on tombs and over the doorways of dwelling-houses; and many of the texts also found may have been in the Syrian liturgy. These inscriptions often are of considerable length. A list of the liturgical and scriptural texts is given in the introduction to the volume (2). Disks and symbols, crosses, sacred monograms and the like, are very common, and seem to have been used for some magical power that should be in them; they have parallels in charms and

amulets otherwise known, and indeed some of them are still used by the modern Greeks. The symbols are often esoteric and recondite; such as the use of numerals to replace a phrase whose letters had the same numerical value. Thus $\phi\lambda\epsilon' = 535 = \text{Kύριε}$, $20 + 400 + 100 + 10 + 5$; again, XMT , interpreted by Waddington as $\text{X}(\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma) \text{M}(\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma) \text{T}(\epsilon\nu\eta\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma)$ —a phrase found elsewhere on a dwelling-house—may be $\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma \acute{o} \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, the beginning of the trisagion ($1 + 3 + 5 + 10 + 70 + 200, 70, 9 + 5 + 70 + 200 = 643 = \chi\mu\gamma'$). This principle of the cryptogram is applied to other phrases; it may be considered doubtful in the last, because of the spelling $\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$.

The inscriptions are carefully edited. The most important are given in facsimile, or photograph from stone or squeeze: follows a transliteration with necessary supplements, a translation, and notes explaining them. References are given to previous editors or critics, if any. Architectural remains are sometimes given in photograph, and there are descriptions, with measurements and plans, of ancient sites, so far as these bear on the inscriptions.

The Latin inscriptions are mostly of familiar types, and illustrate the distribution of the army or of the Roman officials. Thus we find an *ala Britannica* in the Djebel Rīḥā (131), and the Second Parthian legion "Severiana Pia Fidelis Felix Aeterna," in Stratonicea in the third century (128). Julius Priscus, buried in the Haurān, is called *Rector Orientis* (393). A factory for wine and oil was thus inscribed (187):

nectareos succos, Baccheia munera, cernis,
quae bitis genuit aprico sole refecta

No. 10 of the pamphlet (1) apparently alludes to the transference of troops from Palestine to Arabia, and the rebuilding of the *castra* on the frontier: it mentions the legate Aurelius Aelius (Theo?), governor of Arabia between 253 and 268.

It remains to add that inscriptions of this date are valuable as evidence of the popular language and pronunciation of the day. This branch of study has taken a new importance since popular Greek has been used to illustrate the Greek Bible.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

RECENT CATALOGUES OF ITALIAN MUSEUMS.

Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums, im Auftrage und unter Mitwirkung des kaiserlich deutschen archaeologischen Instituts (römische Abteilung) beschrieben von WALTER AMELUNG. Berlin: In Kommission bei Georg Reimer. Vol. I., 1903; Vol. II., 1908. Text, 8vo, pp. x+935, 768. Plates, 4to, 121+83. M. 50 per vol.

Guida illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Napoli; approvata dal Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. Compilata da D. BASSI, E. GÁBRICI, L. MARIANI, O. MARUCCHI, G. PATRONI, G. de PETRA, A. SOGLIANO; per cura di A. RUESCH. Naples: Richter & Co.; Munich: Buchholz, 1908. 8vo, pp. 500. 129 illustrations in the text. Lire 25.

WHILST the larger museums of Northern Europe have issued, or are in process of issuing, catalogues of their art-treasures compiled by skilled workers, the great collections of Italy have long awaited the coming of a generation which should take stock of their inexhaustible riches. That the younger Italian archaeologists are well qualified to perform this task no one who is acquainted with their work will question; and the second of the books whose names appear at the head of this review is to be welcomed as giving proof of their activity. We doubt not that in due time the collections housed in the Baths of Diocletian—to which constant additions are being made—will be scientifically catalogued by members of its staff. But the museums which are not under national control provide a field for the activity of foreign scholars owing to the circumstances of their administration: and it was well that the German Archaeological Institute addressed itself to the Herculean task of cataloguing the sculptures of the Vatican. Its example, be it said, has been followed by a younger institution, the British School at Rome, which has in preparation a catalogue of the municipal collections of Rome, beginning with the Museo Capitolino.

The cataloguing of the Vatican sculptures was not indeed the first work of the kind undertaken by the German Institute. Benndorf and Schöne had described the Lateran Museum, Schreiber the Villa Ludovisi, Matz and von Duhn the sculptures scattered in private collections or in public places of resort. But these tasks were of minor importance in comparison with that which was undertaken when the Vatican catalogue was commenced. The plan of collaboration was tried but found wanting: and it was not until

Amelung devoted himself to the work that real progress was made. Thirteen years after the decision of the governing body of the Institute to undertake the publication of the catalogue, which was taken in 1890, the first volume saw the light, to be followed five years later by a second, while a third will be needed to complete the work.

The Institute are to be congratulated upon their choice. Amelung's work is no ordinary catalogue, and its appearance marks an epoch. It enables us to measure the distance to which we have been carried by the movement initiated by Adolf Furtwängler, and to take stock of our position. Whatever the faults of Furtwängler's method, whatever his hastiness in applying his principles to individual cases, often leading him to changes of opinion which created a sense of insecurity in his readers, he taught archaeologists to look behind the 'marbles' of the Roman collections to their Greek originals, and to approach them with the determination of tracing their descent, and thus recovering a lost world of Hellenic statuary. It is in this spirit that Amelung, too, approaches the works which he describes; but he has more caution than Furtwängler, he is far less dogmatic in utterance, and the splendid apparatus which he has helped to create and organise puts him in possession of the means of bringing to bear on doubtful points a mass of material for comparison which even Furtwängler could scarcely command. Of course the New Method has its defects as well as its qualities, and no one who makes use of it can hope to avoid them entirely. There is a pleasant vice described in the neo-Teutonic tongue as 'Attributionismus,' which means the passion for labelling a statuary type with the name of a famous sculptor. It tends to bring discredit on the modern school, because the 'attribution' of, say one of the fifth-century Apollos by different archaeologists to Kritios and Nesiotes, Pythagoras, Myron, Calamis, and Phidias, suggests to the critic a *reductio ad absurdum*; and it throws a fierce glare upon those changes of opinion to which all flesh is heir. If a determined attack is ever made upon the edifice erected by Furtwängler and the other critics of his epoch, Amelung will have furnished the enemy with some weapons which they will not be slow to use. Before the new school arose it was the orthodox doctrine that the original of the Apollo of the Belvedere was a work of the third century B.C., very probably in fact to be connected with the deliverance of Delphi from the Gauls. Then Franz Winter, on the ground of a supposed resemblance which it bore to the Ganymede of the Galleria dei Candelabri, undoubtedly a poor reproduction of a famous work of Leochares, 'discovered' that the original of the Apollo was a fourth-century work, and was, in fact, to be ascribed to Leochares. And so matters rested until 1904, when Amelung, in the *Revue archéologique*, although explicitly disclaiming any desire to set up a new dogma in place of an old one, proposed to transfer the Apollo from Leochares to Euphranor. In the catalogue he writes that 'a decision is for the moment impossible'; but the moment is already past, and in *Ausonia* (1908) p. 129 he returns to the view temporarily discarded. Again,

the 'discovery' of the Athena Lemnia of Phidias by Furtwängler was perhaps the most famous of the achievements embodied in the *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik*; but this pillar of the sanctuary has, even since the publication of the Vatican catalogue, been overthrown by Amelung himself.¹ And there may be some who think that where conjecture is piled upon conjecture, this shaking of the pillars may be the sign of impending collapse.

Nevertheless, Amelung's work is too securely based to perish in the wreck of 'Attributionismus,' if that catastrophe should supervene. He has a fine perception of 'artistic individualities,' and wisely refrains from attempting in all cases to give them a name. The gradual emergence of such artistic personalities may be studied in his writing: for example, the group of sculptures centred about the Venus of Capua which Amelung singled out in the text to Brunn-Bruckmann's publication of the 'Caetani' head of Aphrodite now reveals itself as the work of two sculptors closely akin in spirit, to one of whom, as Amelung thinks—and here he seems to tread on shakier ground—we owe the Maiden of Antium. Now the Vatican catalogue is, as was said above, something more than a catalogue, because, if it is carefully studied, it gives a general view of Greek sculpture due to a critic whose knowledge of the monuments is, if not unequalled, at least unsurpassed; and it gives his view at certain stages of its development. There may be objectors who think that this impairs its usefulness as a catalogue, and no doubt it is true that the treatment of individual monuments is uneven and depends on the interest which their relation to problems of the moment excites in Amelung. But it makes the book absorbing in its interest: and of what catalogue can we say the same? Let the student who appreciates subtle argument and fine criticism read Amelung's articles on the Apollo of the Belvedere, with its demonstration that the unsightly drapery is a copyist's addition; on the Laocoon, whose proper restoration is indicated by Pollak's discovery of a right arm belonging to a copy—the parallel drawn between the group and Christian paintings is instructive—and on the torso of Apollonius, of which Amelung ends by writing with candour and justice: 'Das Problem ist noch ungelöst.'

One or two criticisms we are compelled to make. It is the duty of a cataloguer to investigate the provenance of his monuments, and also to give a full bibliography with reference to early engravings, etc. Amelung clearly does not take a deep interest in this part of his work. If it were otherwise he would tell us that a bust of Sabina (Sala dei Busti, No. 359) was found by Gavin Hamilton at Civitá Lavigna, with others now in the Capitoline Museum: they were found long before Hamilton's time. Nor would he refer to a well-known collection of engravings on four separate occasions as (i.) *Episcopus* (Bishop) *Icones*; (ii.) *Bisschop Signorum veterum icones* (1670-80); (iii.) *Episcopus Signorum veterum icones* (1630); (iv.) *Bisschop (Episcopus) Signorum veterum icones* (gegen 1634): and omit all reference to the book on a fifth occasion

¹ In *Oesterreichische Jahreshfte*, vol. xi.

(No. 696)! We can only wish that he could have had a collaborator to do this mechanical work.¹ It is easy to see, moreover, that he has no special interest in iconography. He does not make portraits (such as the Pseudo-Seneca) the text for his discussions: and his Roman iconography is even a little perfunctory. We doubt if a genuine portrait of Nerva exists, and should have liked to see the point raised on vol. ii. No. 101a. And in the Sala dei Busti Nos. 350 and 360 seem to belong to the Flavian period, as Mr. Wace has pointed out. To this view there is no reference.

Of the new *Guide to the Naples Museum* it is not possible here to speak at great length. It will be useful—we may say indispensable—to the archaeological student, and it is a great pity that it is so expensive. The compilers are scholars of high, in some cases of eminent, position, and their work is conscientious and reliable: they have, moreover, succeeded much better than might have been expected in compressing their descriptions within the modest limits assigned to them. It is of course Prof. Mariani's section on Sculpture (exclusive of iconography) which invites the closest comparison with Amelung's work. It is evident that he has that work in view; some of the discussions in which (on rare occasions) he gives himself a little rein recall Amelung's method of treatment; his knowledge is very wide, and his judgment is good. On the 'documentary' side his work is not impeccable. There is an inventory of the Farnese sculptures, made in 1796 and published in the *Documenti inediti per servire alla Storia dei musei d'Italia*. To this inventory Mariani generally gives references, though he is not so consistent as he should be in this matter: he does *not*, for example, note that the Aphrodite Callipygos (p. 105) is duly entered as No. 21. But his references leave much to be desired on the score of correctness; e.g. the note '*D(ocumenti) I(nediti)* i p. 190 n. 195' is given both on No. 1, to which it could not apply, and on No. 226, to which it *does* apply, and it is the same with '*DI* i p. 237, n. 54,' wrongly identified with No. 217, but rightly so with No. 245. This should be set right. Signor Gábrici, indeed, frankly discards the Farnese inventory in his iconographical section, which is by no means up to Prof. Mariani's standard. Enough to say that he describes No. 883 as a bust of Scipio Africanus, without a hint that there are other theories as to the identification or interpretation of this and other like monuments: and he argues in favour of this identification from the presence of a similar bust in the Museo Capitolino *with an inscription*. But this inscription is, as all scholars know, a gross and palpable forgery.

H. STUART JONES.

¹The results of accurate determination of provenance may be important. Amelung suggests that the pillar with three Horae in relief (Sala dei Busti, 389) may have belonged to the Ara Pacis Augustae, on the ground of its provenance from the Palazzo

Ottoboni-Fiano. But the report of its discovery in the sixteenth century, *which he does not quote*, speaks of it as found at some distance from the W. pier of the Arco di Portogallo 'verso Propaganda,' i.e. on the side remote from the Ara Pacis.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

Rheinisches Museum, etc. 64. 1. 1909.

R. Philippson, *Zur Wiederherstellung von Philodems sog. Schrift περὶ σημείων καὶ σημειώσεων*. Attempts to restore many of the less certain passages. Is not sure about the σημείων in the title assigned the work by Gomperz, thinking that φαντασιῶν has some claim to consideration. J. M. Stahl, *Der Chor in den Fröschen des Aristophanes*. A chorus of men and women, present throughout the play. In 372-381 the men sing 372-377, the women 378-381. In 397-413 the first stanza is sung by the men, the second by the women, the third by the leader of the chorus, who stood among the women. He then leaves the chorus, in order to address the people, but resumes his old position at l. 445. W. Kroll, *Randbemerkungen*. 14. Unreliableness of our information as to the conditions under which Eclogues 1 and 9 were respectively written. 15. Plaut. *Menaechmi* 120 sqq. illustrated from marriage contract as preserved in papyrus: τὰ δὲ δέοντα πάντα καὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν καὶ τὰλλα ὅσα προσήκει γυναικὶ γαμετῇ παρεχέτω Μενεκράτης Ἀρσινόῃ. W. Brandes, *Die Epistel des Auspicius und die Anfänge der lat. Rhythmik*. The coincidence of word and verse accent not due, as Meyer maintains, to observance of caesura and tendency to avoid (except at the end of the line) words with dactylic endings: Ausp. never thought about the caesura, and the rarity of the dactylic-ending words is due simply to the fact that as such a word regularly ends each line, the chances were against another occurring in it. A.'s violation of the coincidence in disyllables is connected with the notoriously shifting nature of the accent in such words. The invasion of the Ambrosian strophe by rhythm partly accidental, partly intentional, but in no way due to Semitic influence. T. Litt, *Lucians Nigrinus*. A juvenile work, re-cast into dialogue form by the author in the time of his maturity. To be compared with the Hermotimus. A. Busse, *Der Agon zwischen Homer und Hesiod*. Alkidamas the first to interpret Hesiod *Erg.* 654 sqq. as referring to a Homer-Hesiod contest. The question and answer portion (ll. 70-168) drawn from the practice of such things at banquets: see Clearchus in Athen. x. 457c. G. Herbig, *Etruskische Inschriften aus Suessula*. F. Rühl, *Noch einmal die Makrobier des Lukianos*. Defence of his position (Rh. Mus. 62. 421 sqq.) against W. Kunzmann. *Miscellen*: K. Meiser, *Hat Ammianus Marc.* (22. 16. 22) *Jesus erwähnt?* No: the emendation *Platon* is right, the comma should follow *sermonum* not *gradiens*, and the last words should read *libauit sapientiam gloriosam*. T. Gomperz, *Zu Arnobius*. Emendations. C. Weymann, *Nodus uirginitatis*. This expression in the *Hist. Apollonii* a trace of the Greek original: ἄμμα κοπέλας or παρθενίας. A. Brinkmann, *Kosmas und Damian*. Linguistic and critical notes on Deubner's edition.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc. 23. 2. 1909.

H. Jordan, *Sophokles' Antigone*. Analysis directed towards the investigation of the individuality of S.'s art, with frequent comparisons with Aeschylus. A. Deissman, *Neuere britische Septuaginta-Arbeiten*. Account of Swete's 'Introduction,' the Cambridge Septuagint, Brooke-Lean's Book of Judges, Hatch-Redpath's Concordance. H. Christensen,

Alexander der Grosse bei den röm. Dichtern. Involves criticism and interpretation of several passages: e.g. Claud. *Cons. Stil.* 3. 165 *sqq.*, *Cons. Manl. Theod.* 32 *sqq.*, Sil. 13. 763 *sqq.*, Prudent. 2. 546 *sqq.*, Stat. *Silu.* 2. 7. 92 *sqq.* and esp. Luc. 10. 20-32. Several points of coincidence with the work of ps.-Callisthenes. No references to Alex.'s deification. R. Schneider, *Anfang und Ende der Torsionsgeschütze.* The Byzantines possessed an explosive mixture. The torsion-engine disappeared, in the W. about 400 A.D., in the E. about 600 A.D., without leaving any tradition behind it. R. Pestalozzi, *Geschichte der deutschen Lohengrinsage.*

23. 3. 1909.

O. Gilbert, *Heraklits Schrift Περὶ φύσιος.* *Principia*, God, Cosmos and its parts, Psychology. F. Münzer, *Lucilius und seine Zeitgenossen nach den neuesten Untersuchungen.* Mainly a résumé of the contents of C. Cichorius' *Untersuchungen zu Lucilius*, with occasional criticisms and additions (e.g. the Olympian inscr. 329 probably in honour of the Vatia to whom C. refers *Lucil.* 800 *sqq.*). A. Heisenberg, *Die Grundlagen der byzantinischen Kultur.* Its Hellenistic origin and character apparent in its Christianity, system of government, language, science and art. O. Fiebiger, *J. G. Fichtes kritische Pläne während der Jahre 1799-1801.* *Anzeigen, etc.*: J. Kromayer's *Antike Schlachtfelder in Griechenland*, vol. 2, reviewed by B. Niese. 'The strength lies in the topographical part: the strategic criticisms are less convincing, and the chronology of the second Macedonian and Syrian wars does not stand examination.' E. G. Sihler's *Testimonium Animae* noticed by W. Nestle. Parts VII-IX of *Der röm. Limes in Österreich* summarised by W. Ruge.

NUMISMATIC.

Numismatische Zeitschrift. New Series. Vol. i. 1908.

This volume is the forty-first of the periodical, but is labelled Vol. I, new series, because the *format* has been changed. The new issue, if less convenient to hold and read than the previous small octavo volumes, has the great advantage of presenting a larger body of illustration and a better conspectus of the coins, owing to the increase in the size of the plates. On the whole, the Numismatic Society of Vienna is to be congratulated on this alteration in its publication, and it is one that, I suspect, may be imitated, before long, by the editors of other numismatic periodicals. This volume contains, besides reviews, twenty-two articles, of which twelve are on Greek and Roman numismatics. A. Maier has an account of the silver coins of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium (pp. 1-33), presenting a great number of magistrates' names. Kubitschek has six valuable contributions: i. On a find of Imperial denarii from Üsküb, Albania, with an appendix on Pacatianus. ii. On the eras of the town of Sinope. iii. On the date of the death of the Emperor Decius. iv. On Valerianus the younger and Saloninus (Voetter and Regling also write on this subject). v. A note on a coin of Regalian. vi. An account of the acquisitions of the Vienna Museum in 1907. J. Fischer contributes some notes on Roman family coins, and G. Richter describes Jewish coins in his collection.

Nomisma. (Mayer and Müller, Berlin.) No. II. 1908.

No. I. of this finely printed periodical appeared in 1907. In the present number Imhoof-Blumer contributes a very useful monograph, illustrated by two plates, on representations of Amazons on coins. Von Fritze writes on the scheme of the Berlin *Corpus numorum*, and has an interesting study of the Asklepios-statues found on the coins of Pergamon, more especially in connexion with the statue by the sculptor Phyromachos.

Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Parts 1 and 2. Vol. XXVII. (1908.)

E. J. Haeberlin. *Die metrologischen Grundlagen der ältesten mittel-italischen Münzsysteme* (pp. 1-116). An elaborate and important paper.—C. F. Lehmann-Haupt. *Zur metrologischen Systematik*. Remarks (pp. 117-136) on the previous article.—H. Dressel. *Errata-Corrige*. A reply to a pamphlet written by Dattari with the intention of showing that the gold 'Aboukir' medallions are modern forgeries. Dressel, in continuation of his previous monograph, defends the authenticity of the specimens, five of which were purchased by the Berlin Museum.—Reviews of Sundwall's *Untersuchungen über die attischen Münzen* (Weil); Bissinger's *Funde römischer Münzen im Grossherzogtum Baden* (Regling); F. Gnechi's *Monete romane* (Regling).

Rivista italiana di numismatica. Part 3. 1908.

F. Gnechi. *Roma e la Germania*. A descriptive list (with three plates) of types on Imperial coins relating to victories over the Germans. Such types are first found on coins bearing the name of Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus, and are last represented on coins of Constantine II.—G. Pansa. *Di un sestante inedito e singolare con leggende bilingue battuto nella metropoli etrusca di Tarquinia*. A small bronze coin (assigned to circ. B.C. 280). *Obv.* Helmeted female head and inscr. [T]archna in Etruscan letters. *Rev.* . . MANO (Romano?) Horse's head; beneath, a dolphin.—E. Gohl. *Contributions au Corpus numorum Romanorum*. A description of Imperial coins (Sept. Severus to Gallienus) in the National Hungarian Museum at Budapest, not described in Cohen's work.—F. Pellati. *Tesoretto di monete Repubblicane d'argento*. A hoard of 141 denarii and 1 victoriatas found near Ostuni (Prov. Lecce) and probably buried circ. B.C. 90.—L. A. Milani. *Due depositi dell' età del bronzo di Campiglia d' Orcia, e della funzione monetale dell' aes rude nel sepolcri dell' Etruria*.—Review of Warwick Wroth's *Imperial Byzantine Coins*.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part 3. 1908.

J. Mavrogordato. *Was there a pre-Macedonian Mint in Egypt?* Describes two very curious little silver coins from his collection, (i) with the types of Athens, (ii) with the rev. type (owl) of Athenian coins, but with *obv.* lion's head. (i) is inscribed ΑΘΕ, but is certainly an ancient imitation, not a coin of Athens itself; (ii) is uninscribed. From their style, both were probably issued in the same city or district, and their date is circ. 390-370. The provenance of the coins is Sicilian, but that they were probably struck in Egypt may be gathered from the remarkable fact that (i) bears a hieroglyphic symbol and (ii) an Egyptian cartouche.—G. F. Hill. *Two hoards of Roman coins*. 1. Bronze coins of the Tetrarchy, from the Brooklands Motor-track, Weybridge. A hoard discovered in 1907 consisting of at least 137 coins. Many specimens have been kindly presented to the British Museum by Mr. Locke-King, the owner of the land. The coins are 'middle-brass,' i.e., *pecunia maiorina* and their deposit may be dated circ. 297-305 A.D. The personages represented are Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius and Galerius; the mints, London, Trier, Lyon, Tarraco, Rome, Siscia and Carthage. 2. Silver coins of the late fourth century from Icklingham, Suffolk. This hoard was discovered many years ago and appears to have consisted of 337 coins. They are of the same period as the 'Grovely Wood hoard' and range in date from Julian to Honorius: the mint of Trier (as in the Grovely Wood find) is represented by the greatest number of specimens.—A *tetradrachm with the name of Hippias*. In the 'miscellanea' (p. 278), Mr. E. J. Seltman publishes under a heading that excites curiosity an early Athenian tetradrachm in the possession of Mr. J. R. McClean. The peculiarity of the coin is that on the *obv.* (in front of the head), according to Mr. Seltman's reading, are the letters ΓΙ.

The coin is reproduced from a drawing, but I trust that in a future number of the *Chronicle* the editors will furnish us with a photographic reproduction of a specimen which, if the reading be generally accepted, would be of the highest importance in determining the much-disputed chronology of Athenian coins. Meanwhile, I would remark that the position of the inscription is, for an issuer's name, extremely unusual; and, judging from the drawing, the letter λ would appear to be very indistinct. Mr. Seltman himself remarks that 'the letters are in lower relief than the inscription [ΑΘΕ] on the reverse, and may have been added after the die had been in use for some time.' Mr. Seltman observes that there is already in existence an obol with the name of Hippias; but the obol in question is not, as is the case of the tetradrachm now published, an ordinary coin of Athens with the name of Hippias added to it, but a coin which, wherever precisely struck (Sigeium or Lampsacus?) was, beyond all question, not struck at Athens. The evidence of the obol, therefore, only goes to show that Hippias, when in exile, issued coins with his own name; it affords no proof that, when tyrant of Athens, he inserted his name on the Athenian coins.

Part 4. 1908.

B. V. Head. *Ephesian tesserae*. On some curious bronze pieces—evidently not coins, though bearing the name and coin-types (bee and stag) of Ephesus—described in Brit. Mus. Catal. *Ionía*, p. 70. The legend ΚΗΡΙΑΛΙΣ ΩΔΕ ΠΡΟΣ ΠΑΛΥΡΙΝ (or ΠΑΛΥΡΡΙΝ) was conjectured by Eckhel to be a druggist's advertisement of a medicament compounded of bees-wax (κηρός) and useful as a specific against (πρός) the malady πάλιν. Κήριλλις and πάλυρις are not known to our dictionaries. Head suggests that the inscription is 'a charm or spell to call the bees home (ὁδε πρὸς πάλυριν).' Ὕρον (he points out) means a bee-hive, but it is admitted that the word πάλυρις is unknown. Κήριλλις seems to be understood by Head in the same way as by Eckhel, i.e. bees-wax or waxen-cake, but it is difficult to see how this word can form part of a charm to be uttered by a bee-keeper. Perhaps also too much significance is attached to the bee represented on these pieces; for we are not really justified in regarding the bee to the exclusion of the stag. Both types (together with the town-name ΕΦ) are simply designs copied from well-known coin-types of Ephesus which are found conjoined in this way. The bee-type, therefore, does not necessarily point to bee-culture, any more than the stag-type does to stag-hunting. It may be noted also that the word ΚΩΠΙ—probably a personal name—is left unexplained by Head. On the whole it may be doubted whether Head's ingenious suggestion should displace the conjecture of Eckhel that these were metallic advertisements given away by the proprietors of an Ephesian druggist's stall to chance passers-by. Certainly the ὁδε seems naturally to suggest *hic venalis*.—J. G. Milne. *The leaden token-coinage of Egypt under the Romans*. A careful study of numerous pieces of this class, found at Behnesa, the ancient Oxyrhynchus. They formed Egyptian small-change of the second and third centuries A.D., and were, probably, partly issued at Oxyrhynchus itself (type, frequently, Athena), partly at the mint of Alexandria (type, frequently, Nilus).—On pp. 374, 375 is a note by F. G. Walker concerning Roman coins and two Greek coins (of Laconia, first century B.C. and of the Arcadians, *circa* 130 A.D.) found at Godmanchester (anc. Durolipons), Hunts.

WARWICK WROTH.

* * * Owing to pressure of matter a number of Summaries are held over till October. *Ed. C.Q.*

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

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ON THE INDIAN DOG.

AT the end of the twenty-eighth chapter of the eighth book of the *Natural History* Aristotle says: φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τίγριος καὶ κυνὸς γίνεσθαι τοὺς Ἰνδικοὺς (κύνας), and goes on to narrate a strange story of the method employed to procure the hybrid. Though the details are entirely fabulous, it has not been doubted that the Indian dog was a real animal. In *de Generatione Animalium* 746^a34 he says more cautiously καὶ οἱ Ἰνδικοὶ δὲ κύνες ἐκ θηρίου τινὸς κυνώδους γεννῶνται καὶ κυνός. What then was this creature? Sundevall declines to commit himself. Aubert and Wimmer think perhaps a jackal, for they hold that the θώς of Aristotle was no jackal. But apart from other considerations there is not the slightest reason for saying that θώς does not mean a jackal in Aristotle as much as in other authors; if some of his statements about it are not true, no more are most of his statements about the lion. Yet this absurd notion that the 'Indian dog' was perhaps a jackal is adopted in the Berlin Index 419^a15. If we look to India for a dog really foreign to the Greeks we are of course at once confronted with the genus *Cyon*, familiar to all readers of the *Jungle Books* as the Red Dog; accordingly our problematical Indian has been identified also with this. One would not think that anybody who had ever seen a specimen of *Cyon* would dream of calling it a cross between a dog and a tiger. It is true, however, that Aristotle believed that the Laconian hound was descended from a cross between dog and fox (the ἀλωπεκίδες of Xen. *Cyn.* iii. 1 are also said to be so), and that the ancients were very reckless in making guesses of this kind; so the Arabs say that the cheetah is a 'breed between the lion and the pard'! (Jerdon's *Mammals of India*, 1874, p. 114).

If we were narrowed down to consideration of the passages hitherto quoted, I should look upon the cheetah himself as by far the most likely candidate, and could find a great deal to say for him. But we are not so confined,

luckily, and all the above speculations can be blown into thin air at once by these two quotations from Xenophon's *Cynegeticus*: ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς νεβροὺς καὶ τὰς ἐλάφους κύνας εἶναι Ἰνδικάς· εἰσὶ γὰρ ἰσχυραί, μεγάλαι, ποδώκεις, οὐκ ἄψυχοι (ix. 1). πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐν τὸν ἄγριον κεκτῆσθαι κύνας Ἰνδικάς, Κρητικάς, Δοκρίδας, Λακαίνας (x. 1). Hence we see that the Indian dog was a strong and large animal like a deer hound or boar hound, and plainly nothing but a variety of *Canis familiaris*.

The burden of proof clearly rests on those who say that the Aristotelian animal was not a dog, nor would anyone acquainted with the *Cynegeticus* have ever dreamed of saying so. Hounds were sure to be imported from the East, where they had been bred for centuries. Witness the magnificent animals with which Assurbanipal went hunting, as they still live upon the Assyrian bas-reliefs, and in which we may see or dream we see the progenitors of the companions of Xenophon in Elis. For 'Indian' is a vague term; turkeys do not really come from Turkey nor guinea-pigs from Guinea; it does not seem credible that hounds should really have come from India to Greece at this date. But they may well enough have got the name given them owing to the interest the Greeks were beginning to take in the far East. Ctesias, the contemporary of Xenophon, does talk of Indian dogs which really were Indian; περὶ τῶν κυνῶν τῶν Ἰνδικῶν, ὅτι μέγιστοί εἰσιν, ὡς καὶ λέοντι μάχεσθαι runs the brief abstract in Photius. These also are however real dogs, and nothing either imaginary or hybrid or mysterious; they excited a little later the admiration of Alexander (Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, vol. I, p. 565), and consequently we may infer were larger and fiercer than any hitherto known to the Greeks. Therefore they were not identical with those of Xenophon, as Bunbury thinks.

Enough has been said to shew (1) that the Ἰνδικὸς κυῶν was a real dog, (2) that the varieties of Xenophon and of Ctesias were not the same. The next question then is which of the two breeds Aristotle was thinking of, and the answer is not doubtful: Xenophon's dogs would surely not be accused of descending from tigers, and Aristotle is therefore speaking of the later known variety. He did not rely upon Ctesias for this, I think, because he never speaks of him except to accuse him of falsehood, and because Photius would hardly have omitted so remarkable a story from his abstract of Ctesias. He depended then upon hearsay from Eastern travellers or members of Alexander's army.

With regard to the cross with a tiger, it is first to be observed that we do not know certainly that the τίγρις was our tiger at all. Aristotle nowhere else mentions him, and 'auch die übrigen alten Schriftsteller haben so dürftige Angaben, dass man nur mit Wahrscheinlichkeit annehmen kann, es sei damit der Tiger, *felis tigris*, gemeint' (Aubert and Wimmer, *Ar. Thierkunde*, p. 75). Still, we may provisionally take him to be our tiger. Now, I have already given instances of the careless way in which Greeks and Arabs assume crossing

as an easy explanation of variety among animals, but so far was this carried that the proverb αἰὲς Λιβύη φέρει τι καινόν is actually said to have arisen from the promiscuous crossing of wild animals in Africa! (Ar. *de Gen. An.* 746^b7, *Hist. An.* 606^b20; from an obscure passage in Hippocrates, ed. Kühn, vol. i. p. 549, I conjecture that he may have been responsible for this theory). Thus, when confronted with the problem of the various breeds of dogs, the Greeks found the most natural solution to be that they were interbred with other animals, fox or wolf (*Hist. An.* 607^a2, which indeed may be true) or even tiger. What did the author of the story know about him? Probably nothing except that he was a large striped animal. Large hounds are apt to be very much brindled, and this would be quite enough to set the ball rolling.

Finally, why does Aristotle alter his statement when he comes to the *de Generatione*? Because he is there writing scientifically; great parts of the *Hist. An.* are a mere collection of any statements, credible or not, which came in his way; hence he put down there what he was told about dog and tiger. But when he was writing seriously he could not accept such a statement; he held himself that animals only crossed when they were near akin to each other; thus on his own principles he was bound (if the creature was to be allowed to be a hybrid at all) to substitute a 'dog-like animal' for the tiger. No doubt this was a mistaken procedure, like rationalizing mythology; he ought to have rejected the story altogether unless he could get more information.

As for the *wild* dogs of India mentioned in *de Partibus Animalium* 643^b6, they may probably be *Cyon*. Anyhow they cannot be identified with the domesticated breeds of Xenophon, Ctesias and the other Aristotelian passages.

ARTHUR PLATT.

VESTER = TVVS.

Catull. 39 17-21.

nunc Celtiber es : Celtiberia in terra,
quod quisque minxit, hoc sibi solet mane
dentem atque russam defricare gingiuam ;
ut, quo iste *uester* expolitor dens est, 20
hoc te amplius bibisse praedicet loti.

Catull. 99 1-6.

surripui tibi, dum ludis, mellite Iuuenti,
sauiolum dulci dulcius ambrosia.
uerum id non impune tuli ; namque amplius horam
suffixum in summa me memini esse cruce,
dum tibi me purgo nec possum fletibus ullis
tantillum *uestrae* demere saeuitiae. 6

'*uester*, de uno, per indignationem' (though I hardly see what indignation has to do with it) says Achilles Statius at the first of these two places, and again '*uester*, de uno' at the second. Muretus on the other hand explains '*uestrae saeuitiae*, ferocitatis illius, uobis omnibus, qui formosi estis, innatae.' Most commentators have taken part with Muretus, and deny that *uester* in these two passages means *tuus* ; nor is the usage recognised in the lexicons. But when it comes to explaining what, if not *tuus*, *uester* does mean, the interpreters are not agreed : they contradict one another, and they even contradict themselves.

Baehrens, like Muretus, takes *uestrae saeuitiae* as 'formosorum puerorum saeuitiae,' and Prof. Ellis also translates 'of you and others like you.' To establish this use of *uester* by examples is of course an easy matter. Muretus quotes Ouid. *her.* i 75 sq. 'quae *uestra* (= uirorum) libido est, | esse peregrino captus amore potes' ; Ellis and Baehrens add Prop. ii 29 32 'me similem *uestris* moribus esse putas,' iii 15 43 sq. 'at tu non meritam parcas uexare Lycinnam : | nescit *uestra* (feminarum) ruens ira referre pedem,' Ter. *ad.* 165 'noui ego *uostra* (adulescentium) haec, "nollem factum ; dabitur ius iurandum, indignum | te esse iniuria hac"' ; and others yet might be added, as Ouid. *her.* xvii 39 sq. 'credulitas damno solet esse puellis, | uerbaque dicuntur *uestra* carere fide.' Thus interpreted, *uestrae saeuitiae* has the advantage of being Latin, but it has the

disadvantage of making nonsense. 'Weep as I might, I could not lessen by a jot the rage of you and others like you.' What others? No other boy flew into a rage because Iuuentius was kissed, and Catullus' apologies were intended for no other boy. He would indeed have been a Simple Simon if he had expected, by sobbing over an individual, to diminish the generic ferocity of a type. The only 'saeuitia' which his 'fletus' could conceivably appease was the 'saeuitia' of a single boy on a single occasion.

Baehrens, but not Mr Ellis, understands *uester dens* in the same way, 'uestrum Hiberorum dens': again Latin and again nonsense. It is impossible that the details of a man's personal toilet should affect the colour of his countrymen's teeth. The teeth whose whiteness proved Egnatius 'bibisse lotium' were the private property of Egnatius, and no more belonged to any other Celtiberian than they belonged to the king of the Parthians. I never heard but of three persons to any one of whom the words *uester dens* could be addressed in any other sense than *tuus dens*: their names were Enyo, Pephredo, and Dino; ἦσαν δὲ αὐταὶ Κητοῦς τε καὶ Φόρκου, Γοργόνων ἀδελφαί, γράϊαι ἐκ γενετῆς. ἓνα δὲ ὀφθαλμὸν αἱ τρεῖς καὶ ἓνα ὀδόντα εἶχον, καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ μέρος ἤμειβον ἀλλήλαις.

Mr Ellis on the other hand at 39 20 renders *uester dens* by 'that Celtiberian tooth of yours,' i.e. of *thine*; and at 99 6 he gives as a second translation, without observing that it conflicts with his first, the English 'your (i.e. *thy*) boyish cruelty.' That makes excellent sense; but where else in Latin does this use of *uester* occur? Not in any passage cited by Mr Ellis. Take the first, Prop. iii 15 44 'nescit *uestra* ruens ira referre pedem': does *uestra ira* mean Cynthia's feminine anger against Lycinna? No; it means, as Mr Ellis himself translates, 'the anger of you women': the judgment 'nescit ruens referre pedem' is pronounced upon the whole sex. How then is *uestra ira* parallel to *uestrae saeuitiae*, which does and must mean Iuuentius' rage at Catullus' conduct, or to *uester dens*, which does and must mean the tooth Egnatius polished every morning? Again, in Prop. ii 29 32 'me similem *uestris* moribus esse putas,' *uestris*, as Passerat says, is 'uilorum': nobody thinks it necessary to invent the meaning 'tuis uiri moribus.' And again, at Mart. vi 43 6 'hoc mihi sunt *uestrae*, Castrice, diuitiae,' Mr Ellis's own translation is 'of you millionaires,' not 'of thee, who art a millionaire.'

But those who interpret *uester* simply as *tuus* in these two poems of Catullus have no better success when they try to adduce parallels. Munro in *crit. and eluc.* p. 216 does not try; but Mr G. Friedrich at 39 20 and Mr A. Gudeman at Tac. *dial.* 10 try and fail. Mr Friedrich seeks his parallels in Catullus himself, and believes that he has found three. In 71 3 sq., 'aemulus iste tuus, qui *uestrum* exercet amorem, | mirifice est a te nactus utrumque malum,' it is quite true that *tuum* would make sense, so far as one can talk of sense in a corrupt epigram which has never yet been satisfactorily explained. But *uestrum* with its usual force will make sense equally, 'amorem qui tibi cum

eo communis est.' In 68 149-52 'hoc tibi, quod potui, confectum carmine munus | pro multis, Alli, redditur officiis,—ne *uestrum* scabra tangat rubigine nomen | haec atque illa dies atque alia atque alia' the use of *uestrum* is quite normal, and *uestrum nomen* is the same as 49 sq. 'nec . . . aranea . . . in deserto *Alli nomine* opus faciat.' The name *Allius* was no private possession of the *Allius* to whom Catullus addressed this poem: he shared it with the whole gens *Allia*, and it was impossible to immortalise the name of one *Allius* without immortalising the name of all. The editors have duly cited the parallels Cic. *pro Scaur.* 30 'si te (Triari) omen *nominis uestri* forte duxit' and Ouid. *trist.* ii 65, where Ovid, speaking of his *metamorphoses*, says to Augustus 'inuenies *uestri praeconia nominis illic*,' i.e. *Caesarei nominis*, although the 'praeconia' are in fact bestowed almost exclusively upon Augustus himself. As for Mr Friedrich's third example, Catull. 55 21 sq. 'uel, si uis, licet obseres palatum, | dum *uestri* sis particeps amoris,' neither *uestri* nor *tui* is admitted by the sense, which requires *nostri*, the uar. lect. of the cod. Sang.; and when Mr Friedrich translates 'aber meinewegen behalte dein Geheimnis für dich, wenn du nur in deiner Liebe glücklich bist' his adversaries are likely to reply that a scholar who supposes *particeps amoris* to mean 'glücklich in Liebe' may well suppose *uester* to mean *tuus* or *suus* or *meus* or anything else. This is the last of Mr Friedrich's Catullian instances: outside Catullus he descends at once to Dracontius and the French *votre*.

Mr Gudeman begins by saying 'Scholars obstinately refuse to recognise the use of *uester* = *tuus*, although Munro, *Elucidat. to Catullus* p. 216, has adduced several indisputable instances, e.g. Cat. 39 20, 99 6.' Human nature being what it is, some scholars may perhaps be confirmed in their obstinacy when they find that this statement is not true: Munro adduced these two instances and no others. Mr Gudeman then, like Achilles Statius before him, quotes Verg. *Aen.* x 187 sq. 'cuius olorinae surgunt de uertice pinnae, | crimen, Amor, *uestrum* formaeque insigne paternae.' This is another of those places where *tuum* would satisfy all the requirements of the sense, but where *uestrum* in its ordinary meaning is none the less appropriate. The ἐρωτικὴ μανία, says Plato, is Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἔρωτος ἐπίπνοια, and Horace depicts this pair as inseparable, 'Veneremque et illi | semper haerentem puerum': *uestrum* therefore can be said for 'tuum et matris tuae' no less properly than *Aen.* ix 525 'uos, o Calliope, precor, adspirate canenti' for 'tuque tuaeque sorores,' or i 140 '*uestras*, Eure, domos' for 'tuas fraternasque,' or Sen. *Tro.* 532 sq. 'dum Phrygibus animos natus euersis dabit, | Andromacha, *uester*' for 'tuus et Hectoris.' The other passage cited by Estaço, Ouid. *fast.* i 285 sq. 'pax erat, et *uestri*, Germanice, causa triumphī | tradiderat famulas iam tibi Rhenus aquas,' is also irrelevant: '*uester* dicitur quippe res ductu Germanici auspiciis Tiberii gestae perscribebantur in arcu propter aedem Saturni' says Merkel. As for Mr Gudeman's two remaining instances, Tac. *dial.* 10 'nec solum cothurnum *uestrum* aut heroici carminis sonum, sed lyricorum quoque iucun-

ditatem . . . anteponendam ceteris aliarum artium studiis credo' and Cic. *de or.* iii 182 'trochaeum frequentem segregat ab oratore Aristoteles, Catule, *uester*,' anyone who insists that this *uestrum* and this *uester* mean respectively *tuum* and *tuus* must be prepared to show that Maternus was the only tragic poet in the world and that Aristotle had no adherent but Catulus. The use is the same as in Prop. ii 34 30 'nil iuuat in magno *uester* amore senex': the old poet, whoever he may have been, was studied not by Lynceus only but by those who shared his tastes.

For my own part I agree with Estaço and Munro that in Catull. 39 20 and 99 6 *uester* necessarily means *tuus*; so necessarily, that these two verses alone are enough to establish the usage. I think also that from the Latin of classical times I can produce two parallels, not more than two, which are certain. First however I will take two other passages, where this use of the word, though possible, is not indisputable.

I pass by Verg. *Aen.* xi 686-8 'siluis te, Tyrrhene, feras agitare putasti? | aduenit qui *uestra* dies muliebribus armis | uerba redarguerit' where the commentators, doubtless rightly, explain *uestra* as 'Tyrrhenorum.' But on Martial and on Ovid's *amores* we have no proper commentary, and the following instances require discussion. Mart. xii 98 1-6 'Baetis oliuifera crinem redimite corona, | aurea qui nitidis uellera tinguis aquis, | quem Bromius, quem Pallas amat, cui rector aquarum | Albula nauigerum per freta pandit iter, | ominibus laetis *uestras* Instantius oras | intret, et hic populis ut prior annus eat.' Here is the plural *uestras* referring to the singular *Baetis*; for it would be frivolous to pretend that the 'orae' are those of Baetis and Bromius and Pallas. But this is only an example of that confusion or identification of a town or country with its inhabitants on which I shall have more to say if I ever write a note on Prop. iv 3 10 or Manil. iv 602: it is exactly matched by Sil. iii 287 sq. 'nos quoque desertis in castra mapalibus itis, | misceri gregibus *Gaetulia* sueta ferarum,' and as *Gaetulia* means *Gaetuli* so *Baetis* means *Baetici*. The next case is more obscure. In Ouid. *amor.* iii 1 35-40 Elegy addresses Tragedy as follows: 'quid grauibis uerbis, animosa Tragoedia,' dixit | 'me premis? an numquam non grauis esse potes? | inparibus tamen es numeris dignata moueri: | in me pugnasti uersibus usa meis. | non ego contulerim sublimia carmina nostris: | obruit exiguas regia *uestra* fores.' Here *uestra* looks as if it meant *tua*; for to whom but its queen does the palace of Tragedy belong? Well, perhaps to Atreus and Oedipus and the other princes whose crimes and misfortunes are her chief concern: 'regum facta' is Horace's name for the themes of tragedy in *serm.* i 10 42.

But the two examples which seem certain are the following.

Ouid. *amor.* ii 16 23 sq.

non, quae uirgineo portenta sub inguine latrant,
nec timeam *uestros*, curua Malea, sinus.

A headland is not, like a realm or a city, conceived as the abode of man, that its name should summon up the notion of inhabitants; and the 'sinus' formed by the curve of Malea are her own, not held in partnership with any other cape on the coast.

Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 1512-4

perage nunc, Titan, uices
solus relictus: ille qui *uester* comes
ubique fueram, Tartara et manes peto.

No one except Titan, not Phoebe for instance, is here signified as the fellow-traveller of Hercules; for if that were so the removal of Hercules would not cause Titan to be 'solus relictus.' Bothe observed this and wished to alter the text; but this is now the fourth example we have found of *uester* = *tuus*.

If therefore anyone now chooses to give *uester* this meaning also in Catull. 71 3 and Ouid, *amor.* iii 1 40, although there is nothing in those two places which demands it, the practice of Catullus and Ovid does not forbid him. Nor does Ovid's practice forbid two conjectural emendations which had the countenance of Heinsius. Deianira begins her letter to Hercules with the verse (*her.* ix 1) 'gratulor Oechaliam titulis accedere *nostris*': 'nimis inuidiose profecto' says Heinsius 'mariti titulos inuadit et sibi uindicat, quod Hypsipyle Medae supra (vi 99 sq.) obiiciebat, "adde quod adscribi factis procerumque tuisque | se facit, et titulo coniugis uxor obest." recte igitur codices nonnulli "titulis . . . *uestris*." sic infra . . . Ariadne (x 130) "non ego sum titulis surripienda tuis." On the other hand it is to be observed that the three words 'titulis accedere nostris' recur in Luc. iii 555. In *her.* xix 59-62 Hero writes 'nam modo te uideor prope iam spectare natantem, | brachia nunc umeris umida ferre meis, | nunc dare, quae soleo, madidis uelamina membris, | pectora nunc iuncto *nostra* fouere sinu' where the sense would require *tua*, and Heinsius prefers the *uestra* of one or two MSS. Here however there is much to be said for the conjecture of Merkel, 'pectora nunc *nostro* iuncta fouere sinu': the error is of a common type enough: xviii 142 *nomine crimen, crimine nomen, met.* viii 762 *cortice sanguis, sanguine cortex*, xiii 494 *tuum mea, meum tua, trist.* iv 1 105 *tempora carmen, carmina tempus, fast.* iii 307 *pugnando . . . temptant, temptando . . . pugnant.*

A. E. HOUSMAN.

SAPPHO'S ODE TO THE NEREIDS.

WHEN the first volume of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri was published in 1898, all lovers of Sappho must have been disappointed with the latter half of Blass's otherwise excellent restoration of this poem. The perusal of a recent article by J. Sitzler,¹ in which later suggestions are discussed and fresh ones made, only serves to confirm this feeling of dissatisfaction. Sappho's extant work elsewhere combines a dignified simplicity of matter with a dignified simplicity of form. Any obscurity we find in it, is due rather to our ignorance of her dialect than to any real strangeness of thought or diction. By simple ideas, simple constructions, simple words, she produces a beauty all her own. It must be confessed that the latter half of the *Ode to the Nereids*, as it stands in any of the published restorations falls short of all else of Sappho's that we possess. It is just possible that in line 11 ὅτοισι can stand as a feminine, but, grammar apart, nothing, surely, could be tamer than the sentence as it stands with the long relative clause beginning in line 13—'When he heard the reproach, which used to cut him to the quick and restrain him amid the mirth of his fellow citizens, and which died away for a time only to be revived soon after.' I hope to bring the poem a stage nearer satisfactory restoration by showing that there are grounds for rejecting some at least of the suggestions which contribute to this result.

A careful restoration of the MS, made by means of tracings from Grenfell and Hunt's facsimile, shows that many of the proposed emendations are either too long or too short. The most certain beginnings are τὸν κασί]γνητον in line 2, κῶσσα F]ῶ in line 3, τὰν κασιγ]νήταν in line 9, and μὰν or -δεν διὰ μά]κρῳ in line 16. If we restore these words by careful tracing from the extant part of the MS, and read τὸγ, τὰγ, and -δεν, a vertical line connecting the left extremities of these four lines is found not only to be straight, but to be parallel to the fibre of the Papyrus. This gives us a *terminus ad quem* for the missing left-hand portion of the MS. With regard to what may be called the internal gap beginning at line 9, and the reconstitution of the much-mutilated last stanza, the photographic facsimile shows that the right half of the Papyrus, as we have it, has twisted slightly to the left (see N in γένεσθαι line 3). The part to the right of the internal gap is divided into two portions which differ in the amount of their twist to the left (see χρῶ and πολίταν in lines 13 and 14). In order to secure greater accuracy these pieces were traced separately, and the tracings then put together to represent the Papyrus as it was when it left the scribe's hand. In this way the small

¹ *Neue Philologische Rundschau*, Nov. 30, 1907.

fragment, now detached, containing the letters NA, could be placed in its true relation to the left-hand portions of the last stanza, and the suggestions for filling the internal gap could be tested.

The results of the tracing-test can of course lay no claim to infallibility. In some cases the same letter, or the space between the same pair of letters, differs in width in different parts of the Papyrus, and some of those to be supplied can be determined only by comparative methods. Still, after studying the facsimile, I believe that we cannot go far wrong, if we bear in mind two main principles. First, the variations in width occur more often on the right than on the left; for naturally the necessity for cramping or spreading his letters was realised by the scribe only towards the end of a line. Secondly, the letters fall into certain groups (the most obvious is Λ, A, and Δ), any member of which may be used to furnish examples of any other member.

The text given below embodies original suggestions based on the tracing-test, and others which are supported by it. In the Apparatus Criticus¹ the signs +, −, and =, are employed to show whether a suggestion exceeds, falls short of, or coincides with my vertical line; a query indicates that the excess or deficiency is slight. The initials refer to previous editors and commentators—Blass in *Oxyrh. Papp.* i. and *N. Jahrb.* 1899, p. 30; Diels, *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Ak. d. Wissensch.* 1898, p. 497; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Gött. Gel. Anzeig.* 1898, p. 697; Jurenka, *Wiener Stud.* 1899, p. 1; Sitzler, *N. Philol. Rundsch.* 1907, p. 553.

Text:

- Χρύσται] Νηρήϊδες, ἀβλάβη[ν μοι
τὸν κασί]γνητον δ[ό]τε τυῖδ' ἔκεσθα[ι,
κῶσσα F]ῶ θύμῳ κε θέλῃ γένεσθαι,
ταῦτα τελ]έσθην.
- 5 ὄσσα δὲ πρ]όσθ' ἄμβροτε, πάντα λῦσα[ι,
καὶ φίλοις]ι Φοῖσι χάραν γένεσθαι
καὶ δύν' ε]χθροισι· γένοιτο δ' ἄμμι
δύσκληα μ]ήδεις.
- τὰν κασιγ]νήταν δ' ἐπέλοι πόησθα[ι
10 ἔμμορον] τίμας· [όν]ιαν δὲ λύγραν
καὶ λόγοις,] ὅτοιςι [πάρ]οιθ' ἀχέων
ἄμμον ἐδά]μνα
- κῆρ, ἀηδμ' ἔμω]_εῖσαῖω[ν] τὸ κ' ἐν χρῶ
κέρρεν, ἀλ]λ' ἐπ' ἀγ[λαῖ]α πολίταν
15 ἐκλάθουτ'] ἀλειπ', [ῥτα] νῆ κε δαῦτ' οὖ-
δεν διὰ μά]κρω.
- καὶ σύνωρ]ον, αἶ κ[ε θέλῃ, ἀξίαι]σι
ἐν κόραις' εὖρο]ι· σὺν [δὲ,] λὺγ[ξ] ἔ]ρε[μ]να,
ρίν' ἔραξε κατ]θεμ[έν]α κάκαν [σὰν
20 ἄλλοσε θῆρα]ι.

¹ Based on Jurenka's.

Apparatus Criticus:

1. χρύσαι J cf. Pind. *Nem.* 5. 7, but Pap. prob. χρυσαι: ὦ φίλοι B-?: Κύπρι καὶ Earle+: πόντια D+: πόντια J+: λίσσομαι S+ 1/2. μοι | τὸν D: ἔ- | μον B: Pap. prob. τογ 4. ταῦτα τελέσθην B: πάντα J+ 5. ὅσσα δὲ πρόσθ' ἄμβροτε, πάντα λύσαι D: ὅσσα δὲ πρόσθ', ἄμβροτε, πάντα λύσαι B 6. καὶ φίλοις D and W: ὡς φίλοις B- 7. καὶ δύναν E: πημόναν δ' J+: πῆμα δ' αὐτ' S+: κώδοναν S+: κώνιαν B= 8. δύσκλεα E: μήποτα B+? and gives no likely sense: δῆποτα J= 9. τὰν W: Φὰν B=, but digamma would prob. be omitted in the Pap. where not metrically necessary δ' ἐπέλοι E: Pap. δεφελοι, the obscure letter after ΔΕ must have been Φ ἔμμορον J and W: κώλγας B- 11. καὶ λόγοις E: ἐκλάθειν B-? and necessitates taking ὄντοι as fem.: κουφίσαι' οὐ ἐξελεῖν Crusius-, -: λᾶστιν ἡδ' J+: τῶν λάθειν S+ 12/13. ἄμμον ἐδάμνα | κῆρ, ἀηδμ' ἔμω E: Pap. prob. αμον and κηρασμέμ', but there is no trace of Μ in the facsimile: κάμον ἐδάμνα | κῆρ, ὀνειδισμ' B+, +: τλᾶμον or θύμον ἐδάμνα | κῆρ, ὀνειδισμ'

J+, + 13. οὐδὲν εἰς ἔμ' Crusius+?: κέρτομον φθέγμ' S+ Pap. ερχρω 14. κέρρεν, ἀλλ' E: κέρρον ἦλλ' B=: κέρρε πόλλ' J= ἀγλαῖα B+: Pap. prob. αγλαῖι for αγλαῖα or αγλαῖι 15. ἐκλάθειν' ἄλειπ' ὅτα νῆ κε E: Pap. prob. εκλαθοιθ': καὶ βράχυν ἴαλειπον ἀνήκε B+?, +: τύτθα μὲν ἴαλειπον ὕνηκε S+, + Pap. δ'αυτ' 15/16. οὐ- | δεν Smyth *Greek Melic Poets* 1900: οὐ | κεν B=: οὐ | μὰν J+ 17. I follow other editors in placing the loose fragment (not that containing NA) so as to fit the probable θε[μέ]να in 19; the facsimile is misleading: καὶ σύνωρον αἶ κε θέλῃ ἀξίαισι E: Pap. prob. θελ' αξίαισι 18. ἐν κόραις' εὔροι' σὺν δὲ, λὺγξ ἔρεμνα E: Pap. prob. εγ: the letter before the colon is obscure; an inked fibre seems to have got out of place; if it is I, the preceding letter was prob. O: ν' σὺν δὲ λὺγρ' ἐρέμνα B= 19/20. ῥῖν' ἔραξε κατθεμένα κάκαν σὰν | ἄλλοσε θῆραι E: νύκτι πάντα κατθεμένα κάκαν . . . B+: κάκαν ἐχ- | θραν ἀπόδυθι=, or διδάσαι=J. Restorations not noticed here are due to Blass.

Notes:

4. τε[λ]έσθην: so the facsimile, not τε[λ]έσθην; there is no trace of λ.
7. καὶ δύναν: to be preferred to Blass's κώνιαν in view of ὀνίαν below; the word does not occur in extant fragments of Sappho, but she might have used it as an Homeric word (it occurs *Od.* 14. 215 et al.). She sometimes uses Homeric forms, e.g. ἀνήτοιο fr. 78.¹
8. δύσκλεα: 'and may nobody ever be a dishonour to us,' i.e. to Sappho and her brother, as Rhodopis had been. The contrasted τὰν κασιγνήταν δ' ἐπέλοι πόσθαι | ἔμμορον τίμας makes some such word essential. This form of the noun for δύσκλεια is borne out by ἀλάθεια for ἀλήθεια Alc. 57, Theocr. 29. 1. Original F made no difference here, cf. χρῶταισιν, πάϊς Sa. 20, 34. See also Gramm. quoted by Meister-Ahrens i. p. 95. The dual is rare in Lesbian; hence ἄμμι, not νῶν.² Or it may include other members of the family. For the phrase cf. *Il.* 16. 498 σοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ ἔπειτα κατηφείη καὶ ὄνειδος | ἔσσομαι ἥματα πάντα διαμπερές, and L. and S. under αἰσχύνῃ and συμφορά.
9. δ' ἐπέλοι: it is impossible in a translation to bring out the delicacy of this word. Sappho would fain—if it were possible—succeed Rhodopis in her brother's affections, 'may he take his *sister* to his heart *now*, to bring her honour.' (πόσθαι is explanatory infinitive, and τίμας is contrasted with δύσκλεα above. Thucydides, iv. 38, uses ἐφαιρέω thus in the passive 'to be chosen to succeed some one'; for ἐπι- in this sense cf. Eur. *Alc.* 305 et al.) In the last stanza of the poem, as though this were too much to hope for, Sappho suggests an alternative.
- 11 ff. καὶ λόγοις: these accusatives are picked up by ἄλειπ' (i.e. ἄλειπε) in line 15. 'And as for the bitter pain and the words with which of yore—in the grief of his soul—he overwhelmed my heart when he heard me sing the song which must have cut him to the quick,—O grant that amid the mirth of his fellow-citizens (at a feast of welcome), he may forget what he left behind him, when he returns once more no long time hence.'³
12. ἄμμον: i.e. ἄμόν, see Meister-Ahrens i. p. 168.
13. κῆρ: for the contracted form cf. Sa. *Berl. Klass. texte* V. 2 P. 9722. 5. 5. l. 17.

¹ Bergk⁴.² Hdn. 2. 791. 27 οἱ γὰρ Αἰολεῖς παντελῶς δυῖκά οὐκ ἔχουσιν: it seems however to occur sometimes in theverbs (cf. Meister-Ahrens i. p. 178), and νῶν is fairly certain in another new fragment of Sappho *Berl. Kl. texte* v. 2. P. 9722, p. 17, l. 19.

ἄηδμα: i.e. ἄεισμα, the poem in which she rebuked her brother on his return from Naucratis on an earlier occasion with the ransomed Rhodopis; cf. Hdt. 2. 135 Χάραξος δὲ ὡς λυσάμενος Ῥοδῶπιν ἀπενόστησε ἐς Μυτιλήνην, ἐν μέλει Σάπφω πολλὰ κατεκερτόμησέ μιν.

ἔμω: Joannes Gr. quotes ἐγὼν, ἐμῶ (*sic*) as Aeolic forms (M.-A. i. p. 36 note 8), and Tzetzes' ἔμεν, *Exeg. II.* 93. 20, is also in favour of this alternative to ἔμεθεν. Otherwise we must read ἄηδμά μ', με being secondary object to εἰσαῖων. For the crasis cf. Sa. 1. 11 ὠράνω αἴθερος and 69. 1 (Hiller) κείσεται οὐδέποτα. An alternative would be κῆρ, ἀοίδας εἰσαῖων, partitive genitive, 'hearing in a song that which (τὸ).'.

13/14. τὸ κ' ἐν χρῶ κέρρει: either we must translate 'which must have (could not fail to) cut him to the quick,' or for κ' read *F'*, i.e. *Fε* 'him.' The latter perhaps is unlikely in view of FOICI in line 6.

14. ἀγλαῖα: this, the reading of Blass, is probably right, though—even allowing for a slight twist of the Papyrus here to the left—there is not room for it properly spelt. The tipping-up of the last A shows that A, Λ, or Δ in all probability preceded it: cf. ΔA in γένοιτο δ' ἄμμι in line 7, and in δαῦτ' in line 15. The MS must have read ἀγλαῖι for ἀγλαῖα or ἀγλαῖδι.

15. ἄλειπ': i.e. ἄλειπε 'what he left behind' at Mytilene when he last sailed to Naucratis (he traded in wine), the ὀνίαν λύγραν καὶ λόγοις above. The imperfect is idiomatic, 'what in going away he was leaving behind'; cf. Dem. 55. 8 ὡς οὐθ' ὁ πατὴρ οὐδὲν ἡδίκηκε περιοικοδομῶν τὸ χωρίον . . . ὑμᾶς πειράσομαι διδάσκειν. Sappho did not invariably use the article for the relative; cf. frag. 99. The use of the accusative of the relative after ἐκλάθουτο is paralleled by Eur. *Bac.* 1273; cf. also *II.* 2. 600. In the only place where Sappho uses the word, the object has to be supplied (frag. 93).

νῆ (or νέη?): cf. Hesych. νέι· πλέει; or it may be the active of νέομαι 'to return.' In Ode 1. 19 Sappho uses an active form of μάομαι not found elsewhere, and the middle form ἐμπρέπεται seems to occur only in one of the new Berlin Fragments. The position of κε is unusual, but, with a monosyllabic verb, not impossible; in line 3 κε is later than usual.

δαῦτ': 'again' in fr. 40, here 'back again' like πάλιν.

οὔδεν διὰ μάκρῳ: strict grammar perhaps demands μῆδεν; but in phrases where, as here, the negative goes closely with an adverb or adjective οὐ is often found.

17 ff. καὶ σύνωρον κτλ. (Sappho may have written συνάωρον, but she could scan it as a trisyllable, cf. θυρώρῳ frag. 98 and ἐπάρθαι, perf. inf. of αἰρόμαι, in another new fragment *Berl. Klass. texte* V. 2. P. 9722. 4. 4. l. 10): I translate 'And a mate, if he would have one, may he find among worthy maidens; but as for thee, thou black and baleful lynx, put thy evil snout to the ground and seek thy prey elsewhere.' In attempting—foolhardily, perhaps—what I believe to be the first complete restoration of this stanza, I have been guided by certain considerations. To make up for the long sentence ending rather quietly with οὔδεν διὰ μάκρῳ, the sentiment of the stanza must be forcible. The colon in line 18 followed by CY makes σὺ δὲ probable. If we follow previous editors in placing the loose part of the Papyrus so as to suit the probable θε[μέν]α below, σὺ δὲ becomes practically certain. Upon that a vocative naturally follows. With σὺ it cannot refer to the Nereids; with the feminine termination NA it cannot refer to Charaxus; the only suitable person connected with the subject of the Ode is Rhodopis (or Doricha) herself. Given δὲ, the letters ΛΥΓ are certain. Ῥόδωπι (Βρόδωπι?) or Δώριχα is therefore impossible. It must then be some appellation. The object of the Ode is to reconcile Charaxus with Sappho. Sappho has met her brother halfway by implying above that it was natural he should have resented her song of rebuke, and has expressed a hope that he will forget the pain

he caused her by the words to which his resentment gave rise, and that nobody will henceforth be a disgrace to them. To complete her appeal all that is needed is to imply that his infatuation was not his fault. What better way of doing this than to apostrophise the woman who led him astray, and bid her begone? We know moreover that Sappho did abuse the woman in her poetry—*διὰ τῆς ποιήσεως διαβάλλει*, Athen. 13. 596 B.¹ To help us towards the earlier part of the same stanza, we have the circumstances in which the Ode was written, and the necessity of providing a suitable transition from the previous stanza to the sentence beginning *σὺ δέ*. A contrast seems natural; and we may believe that to the sister's thinking the best contrast—for her brother—with going after an evil woman was marrying a worthy one. The letters AIK suggest *αἶ κε θέλῃ*, and the last letter of the line, I, is preceded by something which must be C or E. The rest of the process consists in tracing-experiments. That the animal called *λύγξ* was not black, does not matter much. I take Sappho to have used *ἐρεμνός* in the sense it most commonly has in Homer, Hesiod, and the Tragedians, 'dark and terrible,' 'baleful.' It is an epithet of *αἶγυς*, *λαῖλαψ*, *νύξ*, of the blood of murder, and of the *μυχοὶ ᾄδον*. It is not till we come to Apollonius Rhodius that we find it meaning quite definitely 'black.' Perhaps such a covert reference to the woman's name *Ῥοδῶπις* is not Sappho's way, but it is just worth while to note that Oppian, *Cyn.* 3. 94, distinguishes two kinds of *λύγξ*, of which the smaller has a 'red skin,' *ῥινός ἐρευθής*. References to the lynx are not common in Greek literature, but there are enough to show that it was sufficiently familiar to be used metaphorically in this way. Euripides, *Alc.* 579, speaks of *βαλῖαι λύγκες* as attracted by Apollo's shepherd-pipings; Xenophon, *Cyn.* 11. 1 mentions it among beasts of prey; Aristotle speaks of its habits in more than one passage; in an epigram addressed to *Ἐρως*, *Anth. Pal.* 5. 178 (Stadt.), Meleager calls him *λύγκα παρ' αἰπολίοις*; and there was a proverb *λυγκικὸν βλέπειν*.

19. *ῥῖν'*: or should we read *βῥῖν'*? in either case the Papyrus probably read *ρῖν*.

20. *θῆραι*: Imperative of *θήραιμι*; cf. another new fragment of Sappho, *Berl. Klass. texte* V. 2, P. 9722. 2. 2. line 8, *χαίροισ' ἔρχεο κᾶμεθεν | μέμναισθ', οἶσθα γὰρ*, where we should probably read *μέμναι, Φοῖσθα* (Solmsen *μέμνα, Φοῖσθα*). It is noteworthy that Pindar always uses *δίδοι* for the imperative of *δίδωμι*, cf. Gildersleeve, *Olymp. and Pyth. Odes*, p. lxxxvi.

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¹ Athenaeus calls her *Δωρίχα*, but for the identification see Strabo 17, p. 808.

ON SILIVS ITALICVS.

I.

BEFORE proceeding to consider certain passages of Silius in detail I should like to enter a protest against the undue disparagement which has been meted out to this poet. The letter of Pliny (iii. 7), containing reflexions suggested by the voluntary death by which with stoical fortitude he sought release from the agony of an incurable tumour, presents to us a character which if not great was attractive; the character of a wealthy and kindly noble, who had made no enemies; one whose house was the resort of men of letters; a devotee of poetry, who worshipped Vergil with almost religious veneration; a lover of the beautiful, who found his pleasure according to the accepted Roman fashion in amassing works of art and tasteful country mansions. Pliny's terse criticism of his poem 'scribebat carmina maiore cura quam ingenio' is more just than that of modern critics. Though Silius is not a great poet, a poet he is, with merits distinctly his own. His *Punica* (which has no real hero) is hardly an epic proper, but is rather a chronicle in verse: as such its author displays considerable skill in the clearness with which he marshals the mass of events, and in the realistic force of his descriptions, especially that of the plague (xiv. 580 ff.), and those of the numerous battles, and particularly of the sea-fights (e.g. xiv. 539-556); and in the elaboration of geographical detail, where the vividness of the topographical presentation shows a well-trained eye and no common literary power (e.g. especially xii. 518 ff.) The numerous episodes which enliven the poem, such as the legend of Pyrene (iii. 420 ff.), the killing of the monster serpent (vi. 204 ff.), the pretty description of Pan (xiii. 326 ff.), are executed with much imaginative fancy which recalls the manner of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Again there is a dignity and sustained elevation of language which results not unfrequently in vigorous, well-turned phrases of no ordinary merit. Such are the expression for an echo xiv. 365 'clamat scopulis clamoris imago,' or for breaking through the ranks of the treacherous Greeks xvii. 425 'periuria Graia resignat,' or again the fine line describing the sobbing sound made by water rushing into a wrecked ship's hull and out again xiv. 550 'mox sua ponto | singultante anima propulsa refunditur unda.'

II.

ii. 614-615

princeps Tisiphone, lentum indignata parentem,
pressit ouans capulum.

The subject is the killing of their own families by the Saguntines. On account of the difficulty in explaining the word 'parentem' it was altered by D. Heinsius to 'pauentum' followed by Summers (*C.R.* xiii. 299). I have suggested 'paratum' (*C.R.* xix. 174.), but I am now inclined to think that no alteration should be made: the meaning is 'Tisiphone resenting the indifference of her parent,' viz. Pluto the Lord of Hell, who does not trouble himself about accelerating the slaughter, though it is his business to produce death: Hor. *ep.* ii. 2. 179, 'metit Orcus grandia cum paruis.' Pluto according to one legend was the father of the Erinyes, *Orph. hymn.* 68. 8, 69. 2, Verg. *Aen.* vii. 327. Servius ad loc.

v. 568

immemor annorum seniumque oblitus.

Read 'seniique'; for the open i see xvii. 152 'auxilii.' Though 'obliuiscor' may govern an acc. or gen. equally well, the fondness of Silius for the gen. makes it probable that he used that case. The mistake arose from assimilation to the termination of 'annorum.' In iv. 422 we have 'oblitumque sui.' Cp. Verg. *Geor.* iii. 498.

vi. 168

scire nemus pacemque loci explorare libebat.

Here Summers accepts Burmann's 'faciem' for the absurd 'pacem.' I prefer 'speciem' which accounts for the *p*, and equally well means the aspect of the place. See Stat. *Silu.* ii. 2. 41 'species cultusque locorum'; ii. 5. 89 'magnificas species cultusque locorum'; iv. 2. 30 'longa super species (view).' Plaut. *Pers.* 550 'urbis speciem uidi.'

ix. 314-315

acrius insanus dextra qua ducitur ensis,
bellantum pars magna iacet.

The passage is from the beginning of the account of the battle of Cannae. The first of these lines is so ugly that it seems to require alteration, but I cannot with Summers accept Gronovius' 'ac prius' for 'acrius,' which would mean that before the sword was drawn a large number of combatants was killed by the fire of missiles described immediately above. Such a statement would be a gross exaggeration; for Livy (xxii. 47), whom Silius closely follows, says nothing of the fire of missiles, but after remarking 'clamore sublato procursum ab auxiliis et pugna leuibus primum armis commissa,' proceeds at once to describe the hand to hand fighting; as indeed Silius also does in the

succeeding lines. Therefore I refer this line also to the hand to hand fighting, and read

acrius in stragem dextra qua ducitur ensis,

comparing 372 'nec tanta uitam iam strage uolebat' and for 'in' 458 'porgebat protinus ensem Aetnaeum in pugnâs.' Dr. Postgate points out that Lucan vii. 490 'odijs solus ciuilibus ensis | sufficit et dextrâs Romana in uiscera ducit' seems to support my view.

xi. 372-374

Carthaginis arces

ire ferox Mago et patribus portare iubetur
nuncia facta ducis.

It is impossible to translate 'nuncia facta' as 'news of the deeds,' hence Blass proposed to read 'nuntius acta,' which is printed by Summers. Nearer to the MSS. is 'nunc iam facta' 'to report the general's exploits at this instant.'

xii. 407-408

nimum, iuuenis, nimumque superbi
sperata hausisti.

This is explained thus by Barth, 'nimum superbi et nimum iuuenis sperata animo concepisti': but the expression is awkward, and numerous conjectures have been offered. It seems clear that 'nimum nimumque' should be taken together; the repetition implies added earnestness as in *Ov. Her.* i. 41 'o nimum nimumque oblite tuorum'; *Tibull.* iii. 6. 21 'conuenit iratus nimum nimumque seueros.' I think the corruption lies in 'sperata,' for which I read 'spe tanta,' and alter 'superbi' to 'superbe,' *i.e.* 'warrior, you have aspired after something far too ambitious in your hopes.'

xii. 479-480

sed non, ut scitum celerare ad moenia Poenum,
astabat res ulla loco.

Here 'astabat' gives no meaning. Silius is describing the measures taken to defend Rome, when Hannibal made his hurried march thither in order to create a diversion from the siege of Capua. He goes on to say that both consuls hastened to Rome; forces were brought from Nola and from Arpi and so forth. Accordingly 'res' seems to mean the power of Rome, as in the converse expression of *Livy* (xxi. 16) 'nec rem Romanam tam desidem umquam fuisse atque imbellem.' If for 'astabat' be read 'abstiterat' a satisfactory meaning is got, 'their power had in no wise retired from the proper place,' *i.e.* their power had not failed them where it should do. Silius affects 'absisto' with an abl.: ii. 325, 371; vi. 342; vii. 394; xv. 190; xvi. 223; (Bauer proposed 'abstabat,' a very doubtful word).

xii. 577-578

per plurima uestra,
o socii, decora et sacras in sanguine dextras.

Hannibal is addressing his own troops before the walls of Rome. What may be the meaning of 'hands which are sacred in blood' I don't know, nor did Heinsius, who conjectured 'saturatas sanguine.' I think that Silius wrote 'sacratas sanguine dextras' 'hands immortalised by bloodshed.' 'Sacrare' means to immortalise in Hor. *ep.* ii. 1. 49 'miraturque nihil nisi quod Libitina sacrauit.' For the abl. see Liv. xxiii. 9. 3 'sacratas fide manus.' I suppose 'sacras' was written by haplography for 'sacratas,' and 'in' was a clumsily devised metrical supplement.

xiv. 350-351

non illum mundi numerasse capacis harenas
una fides.

Here the MSS. vary between 'una' and 'uana'; the Coloniensis had 'una,' preferred by Heinsius: Summers accepts 'uana': Heinsius was right. The meaning is that there is more than one evidence to the fact that Archimedes succeeded in calculating the size of the earth's surface. Ov. *ex Pont.* i. 5. 32 'sumque fides huius maxima uocis ego.'

xiv. 654-656

non usquam clarior illo
gloria picturae saeclo; non aera iuuabat (or 'iuuabant')
quem scire ephyren.

Read

non aera iuuabant
quaesita ex Ephyre.

The Syracusans did not care for bronzes brought from Corinth, so fine were their own.

xv. 536-537

hunc etiam, uastis qui nunc sese intulit oris,
perpetiar?

The phantom of Italy appearing to Claudius Nero bewails Hannibal's devastation of Italy. For 'uastis' read 'nostris.' Cp. sup. 525 'nostris considerare in oris.'

xvi. 590-591

ad maiora iubent praesagi tendere uates:
id monstrare deos atque hoc portendere signis.

'The prophetic seers bid them aim at greater things: that, they say, is what the gods indicate and foreshadow by signs.' But why 'id' 'hoc'? It should be 'id' 'id' or 'hoc' 'hoc.' Read 'his portendere signis.' Heinsius proposed 'hoc—signo.'

S. G. OWEN.

AD EPICTETVM.

(Continued from Vol. III. p. 202.)

DISS. III 1 23 ἐγὼ εἰμι τοιοῦτον οἶον ἐν ἱματίῳ πορφύρα· μὴ μ' ἀξίου ὁμοιον εἶναι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἢ τῇ φύσει μου μέμφου, ὅτι με διαφέροντα παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐποίησεν. Si ita locutus esset E., profecto Stoicus, esse desiisset oblitus τί ἐστὶ φύσις ἢ ἐπὶ μέρους καὶ τί ἐστὶ φύσις ἢ τῶν ὄλων (I 20 16), i.e. quid esset inter naturam meam et naturam. Scio me uocatum iri ad III 1 30 ἄνθρωπε, τί ἔχεις ἐγκαλέσαι σου τῇ φύσει; ὅτι σε ἄνδρα ἐγέννησεν; τί οὖν; πάσας ἔδει γυναικας γεννῆσαι; sed ego audacter affirmo et teneo non magis hic quam illic ferri posse pronomen (σου, μου); aut quid, rogo, est 'Quid habes quod accuses naturam tuam, quod natura tua marem te genuit? Num feminas omnes natura tua gignere debuit?'? Vide quod ex Athenaeo (XIII 565 c) citat editor.

III 1 39 ἀλλ' ἀφεῖναι τὸν ἄνδρα ἄνδρα, τὴν γυναῖκα γυναῖκα, τὸν καλὸν ἄνθρωπον ὡς καλὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν αἰσχρὸν ὡς [ἄνθρωπον] αἰσχρὸν. Deleui [ἄνθρωπον], quod post alterum αἰσχρὸν transposuit Elter.

III 3 14 τί εἶδες; πενθοῦντ' ἐπὶ τέκνου τελευτῇ <ι> Interrogandi signum addidi.

III 5 9 Scribo οὐκ ἦρξα, ὅτι σὺ οὐκ ἠθέλησας[.] οὐδέ ποτε (pro οὐδέποτε) ἐπεθύμησα ἀρχῆς. Ibidem 10 unam litteram addo: ἄπειμι, χάριν σοι ἔχω<ν> πᾶσαν, cf. IV 1 105 πορεύεσθαι προσκυνήσας καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ὑπὲρ ὧν ἤκουσας καὶ εἶδες.

III 6 5 Locus de quo disseruit editor p. xlvī (ed. mai.) sic refingendus esse uidetur: 'Ο σπουδαῖος ἀήττητος' καὶ γὰρ (Schweigh. pro ἢ γὰρ) οὐκ ἀγωνίζεται, εἰ μὴ ὅπου κρείσσων, εἰκότως (εἰ κατὰ Codd.) 'τὸν ἀγρὸν θέλεις; λάβε. τοὺς οἰκέτας; λάβε. τὴν ἀρχήν; λάβε. τὸ σωματίον; <λάβε.> De εἰκότως in fine posito cf. II 22 1 Περὶ ᾧ τις ἐσπούδακεν, φιλεῖ ταῦτα εἰκότως. Ubi sequitur probatio per γὰρ inducta, καὶ εἰκότως ponitur II 8 6, 13 15. Sext. Emp. Πρὸς λογικοὺς α' 165 p. 227 6 Bekk., Πρὸς δογμ. ε' 250 p. 594 24.

III 7 3 καὶ διὰ ταύτην (τὴν σάρκα) Μάξιμος ἔπλευσεν μέχρι Κασσιόπης χειμῶνος μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ προπέμπων, ἵν' ἡσθῇ τῇ σαρκί; Transpono et corripiō:

μετὰ χειμῶνος τὸν υἷον προπέμπων i.e. 'procelloso mari' III 9 3 (nam χειμῶνος = hieme III 24 86 et 87).

III 9 16 Scribo ἀλλὰ χρεῖαν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔχω· σὺ κὰν (pro δ' ἂν) πολλὰ κτήσῃ, ἄλλων χρεῖαν ἔχεις κτέ. De suppresso δέ conferatur ex. gr. III 9 18 et 19, IV 1 172.

III 10 7 τί οὖν δεῖ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἐκάστου τῶν τραχέων; ὅτι 'ἐνεκα τούτου ἐγυμναζόμεν κτέ.' Supplendum erit—nam αὐτόν quo referatur non habet—λέγειν αὐτὸν <πρὸς αὐτόν>, cf. III 12 10 ἵνα εἴπῃς αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτόν ὅτι —. Sed aequae conueniet αὐτὸν αὐτῷ uel αὐτῷ solum, cf. III 13 7, 1 36.

III 13 22 ἀλλ' εὐθέως ὡς σοφοὶ διάγειν ἐθέλομεν. Sequens ὡς effecit ut εὐθύς, quod Epicteto usitatum est, in εὐθέως abiret; consimili mendo purgetur IV 10 17 καὶ τίς βίῳν (l. βίος) κρείττων.

III 14 6 εἰ δὲ συμφέρεῖ σοι (τὸ ὕδωρ πίνειν) καὶ πίνεις, σιώπα πρὸς τοὺς δυσαρεστούντας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. In ἀνθρώποις (i.e. ἀνοῖς) latet αἰνῶνις.

III 14 12 εἰ δ' ἴπποι ἡμεν, ἔλεγες ἂν ὅτι 'ὁ πατήρ μου ὠκύτερος ἦν' <ἦ> ὅτι 'ἐγὼ ἔχω πολλὰς κριθὰς καὶ χόρτον' ἢ ὅτι 'κομψὰ περιτραχήλια'; <ἦ>, quod addidit Hense, ex praecedenti uerbo eliciendum fuit: 'ὁ πατήρ μου ὠκύτερος' ἢ ὅτι κτέ.

III 15 5 ὡς τὰ παῖδιά —, ἃ νῦν μὲν ἀθλητὰς παίζει, νῦν δὲ μονομάχους, νῦν δὲ σαλπίζει, εἶτα τραγῳδεῖ <,> ὅτι ἂν ἴδῃ καὶ θαυμάσῃ. Comma addidi; ceterum pro ὅτι ἂν (Coraes, in S ὅταν legitur) malim ὃ ἂν, ut infra 6 πᾶν ὃ ἂν ἴδῃς. ('OTAN ortum ex 'OEAN='OAN.)

III 21 6 ἵν' ἴδωμεν, ὅτι μεμάθηκας ταῖς ἀληθείαις τι <παρὰ> τῶν φιλοσόφων. De παρὰ, quod addidi, cf ind. s.u. μανθάνω παρὰ.¹

III 22 18 ταῦτ' οὖν δεδοικότα ἐπιθαρρεῖν οἷόν τ' ἔτι ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς[,] ἐπι-στατεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις; Comma deleuit Elter; si esset in MSS. οἷόν τ' ἔστι, libenter correxisset Schweigh.: ἔτι θαρρεῖν. Vellem utrumque correxisset. De θαρρεῖν c. inf. cf. III 22 96, ἐπιθαρρεῖν sine datiuo (τινὶ) monstri instar est.

III 22 22 Interpungo φυγῇ; καὶ ποῦ δύναται τις ἐκβαλεῖν; ἔξω τοῦ κόσμου οὐ δύναται, ὅπου δ' ἂν ἀπέλθω, ἐκεῖ ἡλῖος, ἐκεῖ σελήνη κτέ.

III 22 25 ὑπὸ τῶν φαντασιῶν παραταραχθέντα ἢ συγχυθέντα. Verbum compositum suspectans Schweigh. maluit παραχθέντα ('e margine cod. ρα');

¹ Ob indicem reuera illum quidem locupletissimum summaeque cum cura confectum quantum debeatur editori non opus est dicere: crede experto: nec tamen mirum siquid in labore taedii pleno peccatum est, uelut μανθάνω abs. II 17 4 (ἐν τινι?, quod refertur ad haec: προκόψει τις ἐν οἷς οὐ μανθάνει), μανθάνω abs. (ἀπό) III 21 3 (ἀφ' ὧν ἔμαθον), ἀκούω τινός II 24 4

(ὠφέλοῦνται ἀφ' ὧν ἀκούουσιν), φροντίζω ἐν τινι IV 6 28 (εὐλογώτερον μέ ἐστιν ἀρχεῖν.—'Εν ᾧ φροντίζεις, ἐν δόγμασιν), περιλέγω τινά III 23 14 (Τίνος οὖν ἐνεκα ἐπήνεις καὶ περιεῖπες αὐτόν;), σπουδάζω ἐν τινι IV 6 25 (ἐν ἐκείνῳ πλεῖον ἔχειν, ἐν ᾧ ἐσπουδάκασιν sc. πλεῖον ἔχειν. De σπουδάζω c. inf. cf. ind. s.u.).

uerum fuerit *ταραχθέντα*, quo uerbo in simili *κατασκόπον* exemplo utitur Epictetus I 24 3.

III 22 43 ἔχετε οὖν καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἀκόλυτον καὶ ἐλεύθερον. Schweigh: *τι ἀκόλυτον uel ἀκόλυτόν τι*. An ἔχετε οὖν <τι>? cf. 42 ἔστι τι ἐν ὑμῖν ἐλεύθερον φύσει.

III 22 84 οὐ περὶ πόρων οὐδὲ περὶ προσόδων οὐδὲ περὶ εἰρήνης [ἦ] καὶ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ περὶ εὐδαιμονίας καὶ κακοδαιμονίας, περὶ εὐτυχίας καὶ δυστυχίας, περὶ δουλείας καὶ ἐλευθερίας; Deleui ἦ.

III 22 105 ληστής προαιρέσεως οὐ γίνεται, τύραννος οὐ γίνεται. σωματίου; ναί. [καὶ] κτησιδίου; ναί· καὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ τιμῶν. Seclusi [καί], quod saepius in Epicteteis propter proximae syllabae similitudinem uel irrepsit uel periit, uelut III 24 34, ubi uerum seruauerunt apographa, *τηρεῖν σε δεῖ τὸ τοῦ στρατιώτου, πρὸς νεῦμα [καὶ] τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πράσσειν ἕκαστα*. Cf. quae adnotauimus ad I 4 27, I 28 6, II 23 33 et corrige etiam IV 8 31 ἀκούσατε τὰ φάρμακα [καὶ] ὑφ' ὧν ἐθεραπεύθην.

III 24 6 τούτου γὰρ ἄξιος εἶ, ἵνα καὶ τῶν κοράκων καὶ κορωνῶν ἀθλιώτερος ᾖς, οἷς ἔξεστιν ἵπτασθαι ὅπου θέλουσιν καὶ μετοικοδομεῖν τὰς νεοσσίας καὶ τὰ πελάγη διαπερᾶν μὴ στένουσι μηδὲ ποθοῦσι τὰ πρῶτα. Elter τὰ πρότερα (pro τὰ πρῶτα), ego praetulerim τὰ ἀπόντα uel potius τὰ <οὐ> παρόντα coll. 16 τοιγάρτοι πανταχοῦ ἐξῆν αὐτῷ (Ἡρακλεῖ) διάγειν εὐδαιμόνως· οὐδέποτε δ' ἐστὶν οἶόν τ' εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἐλθεῖν εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ πόθον τῶν οὐ παρόντων.

III 24 28 οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα ἀποβαίνειν ἀνάγκη, τοῦ μὲν πυρετὸν γενέσθαι κρείττονα, τοῦ δὲ ληστήν, τοῦ δὲ τύραννον; τοιοῦτον γὰρ τὸ περιέχον, τοιοῦτοι οἱ συνόντες, ψύχη καὶ καύματα καὶ τροφαὶ ἀσύμμετροι <·> καὶ ὁδοιπορίαι καὶ πλοῦς¹ καὶ ἀνεμοί <·> καὶ περιστάσεις ποικίλαι τὸν μὲν ἀπώλεσαν, τὸν δ' ἐξώρισαν, τὸν δ' εἰς πρεσβείαν, ἄλλον δ' εἰς στρατείαν ἐνέβαλον. Febris et praedationis causas ceterasque περιστάσεις inter-punctione diuisi.

III 24 31 οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι στρατεία τὸ χρῆμά ἐστι; τὸν μὲν δεῖ φυλάττειν, τὸν δὲ κατασκοπήσοντα ἐξιέναι, τὸν δὲ καὶ πολεμήσοντα; οὐχ οἶόν τ' εἶναι πάντας ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ οὐδ' ἄμεινον. Nisi mauis inserere <ὅτι> τὸν μὲν, scribe *πολεμήσοντα*. (pro ;)

III 24 48 Interpungo (partim cum Eltero) ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς θρίδακας ἀπέρχῃ —ὀβολοῦ γὰρ εἰσι, ταλάντου δ' οὐκ εἰσὶν —, οὕτω κἀνταῦθα. τοῦ ἐπὶ θύρας ἐλθεῖν ἄξιον τὸ πρᾶγμα <·> ἔστω, ἀφίξομαι. τοῦ διαλεχθῆναι οὕτως <·> ἔστω, διαλεχθήσομαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χεῖρα δεῖ καταφιλήσαι καὶ θωπεῦσαι δι' ἐπαίνου <·> ἄπαγε, ταλάντου ἐστίν·

¹ πλοῖ Postgate.

III 24 75 ἐπ' ἐμοὶ γάρ ἐστι <τὸ> κωλύσαι σε διάγειν ὡς θέλεις, ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τὸ ἀνιᾶν (scripsi pro ἀνεῖναι *Class. Rev.* xx 2) σε, τὸ ταπεινῶν. Articulum addidi.

III 24 92 πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τῶν προτέρων εἰσὶν εἰς ἕτερα μεταβολαί — τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀποδημία, [καὶ] μεταβολὴ μικρά· τοῦτο θάνατος, μεταβολὴ μείζων. Dubito utrum [καὶ] delendum sit (Upton), an supplendum <μεταβολή,> καὶ μεταβολὴ μικρά· respecto III 3 19 ταῦτα πάντα δόγματά ἐστι, καὶ δόγματα περὶ τῶν ἀπροαιρέτων. Certe τῶν πρότερον scribendum erit, cf. III 16 16 ἦθη τὰ πρότερον, IV 2 3 ὁμοιος ὢν τῷ πρότερον σεαυτῷ.

III 26 3 ποῦ γὰρ φέρει (ἢ ὁδός); ὅπου καὶ ὁ πυρετός, ὅπου καὶ λίθος ἐπιπέσων, εἰς θάνατον. τοῦτο οὖν οὐ πολλάκις <ἤκουσας, πολλάκις> δ' αὐτὸς εἶπες πρὸς τοὺς ἐταίρους; πολλὰ δ' ἀνέγνως τοιαῦτα, πολλὰ δ' ἔγραφε; (ἔγραψας;?) Quod excidit ante δαντός, pro quo sū αὐτὸς scripsit Schenkl, supplui, coll. I 25 6, II 6 23, IV 1 143, 4 30 et 32 et 40, 6 13.

IV 1 35 οὐκ ἔχων, ποῖ φάγη κτέ. Coraes τί φάγη, sed Epicteti esse uidetur πόθεν φάγη, I 9 8 et 19, III 3 17.

IV 1 106 δὸς ἄλλοις τόπον· δεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ ἄλλους, καθάπερ καὶ σὺ ἐγένου, καὶ γενομένους ἔχειν χώραν καὶ οἰκήσεις <καὶ> τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Nonne sententia postulat γίνεσθαι? Sic et alibi corrigendum, uelut II 16 4 τί οὖν θαυμάζεις εἰ, ὅπου μὲν μεμελέτηκας, ἐκεῖ κρείττων γένῃ (l. γίνῃ) σεαυτοῦ, ὅπου δ' ἀμελετήτως ἔχεις, ἐκεῖ δ' ὁ αὐτὸς διαμένεις; IV 1 155 ἀλλ' ἐμέμνητο, ὅτι πᾶν τὸ γενόμενον (l. γινόμενον) ἐκεῖθεν ἐστὶν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης πράττεται, IV 7 9 μηδαμοῦ μεμφόμενον μηδενὶ τῶν γενομένων (l. γινομένων), μηδενὶ ἐγκαλοῦν (cf. IO 15 μὴ ποτέ σε ἐμεμφάμην, μὴ τι τῶν γινομένων τινὶ δυσηρέστησα ἢ ἄλλως γενέσθαι ἠθέλησα;), 7 15 τί μέλλει ἀπόλλυσθαι τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, τί γενέσθαι (l. γίνεσθαι) καινόν, παράλογον; (cf. 5 8 μὴ γὰρ θαυμάζει τι τῶν γινομένων; μὴ γὰρ καινὸν αὐτῷ φαίνεται;); I 22 5 τί λέγεις σύ, ὦ Ἀγάμεμνον; οὐ δεῖ γενέσθαι (l. γίνεσθαι) τὰ δέοντα καὶ τὰ καλῶς ἔχοντα; — σὺ δὲ τί λέγεις, ὦ Ἀχιλλεῦ; οὐκ ἀρέσκει σοι γίνεσθαι (pro γενέσθαι Schenkl cum S) τὰ καλῶς ἔχοντα;

IV 1 108 Καὶ<,> εἰ μὴ ποιεῖ σοι, ἔξελθε.—Καὶ, quod abiecit Coraes, ad imperatium pertinet, ut I 25 27 Ἀνθρωπε, καὶ μὴ θεώρει, M. Antonin. II 7 καὶ σχολὴν παρέχε σεαυτῷ.

IV 1 163 τὰλλα δ' οὐδ' ὁρᾷ, οὐδ' ἐπιλογίζεται. Immo ὑπολογίζεται. Aliud enim est ἐπιλογίζεσθαι (considerare), aliud ὑπολογίζεσθαι (rationem habere); uide indicem. Praeterea οὗθ'—οὗτ' praetulerim.

IV 4 38 δεῖ σε δουλεύειν ἀεὶ τῷ δυναμένῳ σοι διαπράξασθαι τὴν ἔξοδον, τῷ πᾶν ἐμποδίσαι δυναμένῳ κἀκείνῳ θεραπεύειν ὡς Κακοδαίμονα. Recte, puto, Elter ὡς κακὸν δαίμονα, num idem recte διαφράξασθαι, formam mediam introducens, dubito, potiusque Schweighaeusero assentior inter se opposita esse διαπράξασθαι et ἐμποδίσαι; sed qui hic 'exitus'? Cf. IV 7 1 οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος καὶ οἱ

ἀποκλείοντες τοὺς εἰσιόντας, *Ench.* 25 5 τὸ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰσόδου
et corrige τὴν εἴσοδον. Idem mendum agnuit Meibom. III 22 52 scripsitque
εἰσελθόντα (sc. in stadium).

IV 5 12 τί οὖν σοι δίδοται πρὸς τοῦτο; ὥς μὲν λύκῳ ἀντιδάκνειν καὶ ἄλλους
πλείονας λίθους βάλλειν <ὥς add. Wolf, Meibom.> ἀνθρώπῳ δ' εἰς ζητῆς, ἐπίσκεψαί
σου τὸ ταμειῖον, ἴδε τίνας δυνάμεις ἔχων ἐλήλυθας. Corrigendum est δέδοται = infra :
τίνας δυνάμεις ἔχων ἐλήλυθας. Quod datum est, non quod datur, ἐν ταμειίῳ est.

IV 5 22 Τί οὖν; θέλεις με καταφρονεῖσθαι;—Υπὸ τίνων; ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγνο-
ούντων; τί σοι μέλει; οὗ τι γὰρ ἄλλῃ τεχνίτῃ τῶν ἀτέχνων. Epicteti sermoni
non conuenit οὗ τις pro οὐδεὶς, conuenit autem [οὗ] τίνι γὰρ ἂ. τ. τ. ἀτέχνων;

IV 6 31 ὁ μὲν ἐξ ὀρθρου ἀναστὰς ζητεῖ, τίν' ἂν ἐξ οἴκου ἀσπάσῃται, τίνι
κεχαρισμένον λόγον εἴπῃ, τίνι δῶρον πέμψῃ.—ἂν cum coniunctiuo in interrogatione
indirecta tam suspectum est ut nimiae audaciae non esse uideatur emendare
τίνα[ν]—ἀσπάσῃται. Vide ceteros locos: I 2 17 τί οὖν; σέ ἔδει φροντίζειν πῶς
ἂν ὁμοῖος ᾖ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις; ubi sententiam restituit B(lass) in *Literar.*
Centralblatt 1899 N. 5 p. 170 πῶς ἀνόμοιος ᾖς, III 13 8 πῶς ἂν (ἂν ex corr. in
S!) θεραπευθῇ, IV 7 37 σοὶ μέλει, πῶς ἐν (πῶς ἂν ἐν cod. S corrector) ὀρθο-
στρώτοις οἰκῆς, ἔτι πῶς παῖδες σοὶ καὶ πιλλᾶτοι διακονῶσιν, ubi οἰκῆς ἔτι pro
οἰχίσεται scripsit Schenkl, recte et singularem numerum—οἰκήσετε enim s—et
tempus praesens uindicans, sed mallet proprusus abesset molestissimum illud ἔτι.

IV 6 34 Interpungo—λογικόν εἰμι ζῶν· τίνα οὖν τὰ ἀπαιτήματα;'

IV 7 11 ἀναγκὴ δ' ἀσεβὲς εἶναι (τὸ λογικὸν ζῶν) ἅτε βλάπτεσθαι οἰόμενον
ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἄνισον, ἀεὶ αὐτῷ τοῦ πλείονος περιποιητικόν. In ἀεὶ alterum
latet ἅτε.

IV 8 7 ὅταν ἴδῃ τις κακῶς πελεκῶντα, οὐ λέγει 'τί ὄφελος τεκτονικῆς; ἰδοὺ
οἱ τέκτονες οἷα ποιοῦσι κακά', ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοῦναντίον λέγει 'οὗτος οὐκ ἔστι τέκτων,
πελεκᾷ γὰρ κακῶς.' Expungatur [κακά], cf. 5 εὐθὺς λέγει 'ἰδοὺ ὁ φιλόσοφος <οἷα
add. Schenkl> ποιεῖ.'

IV 8 35 σαντῷ φιλοσόφῃσιν ὀλίγον χρόνον. οὕτω καρπὸς γίνεται· κατορυ-
γῆναι δεῖ [χρόνον] τὸ σπέρμα, κρυφθῆναι, κατὰ μικρὸν αὐξηθῆναι. Alterum [χρόνον],
quod emendare studuerunt uiri docti, deleui.

IV 10 1 Ἀπορία πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις περὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς γίνεται[, ἀμχανία περὶ
τὰ ἐκτός]. Recte Schweigh.: πᾶσα, nam 'omnibus hominibus' est πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις
I 18 1, 22 1. Ultima seclusi. III 7 24 in uerbis [οὐκοῦν καὶ καθήκοντα—τὰ
προηγούμενα] tam ineptis quam alienis idem remedium adhibeatur.

IV 10 8 Ἐξέστιν οὖν σοι παντὶ τῷ ἀποβάντι χρῆσθαι κατὰ φύσιν; μὴ τίς
σε κωλύσαι δύναται;—Οὐδεὶς. Corrigo ἢ τίς—;

IV 10 14 ἀρκεῖ μοι ἂν δύνωμαι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀνατεῖναι τὰς χεῖρας καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι κτέ. Quid senserit editor in praef. ed. min. adnotans 'dele καὶ (om. S)' non plane intellego; an reuera hic asyndeton esse statuit? Profecto de duobus unum: aut, si καὶ abesse debet, ἀνατεῖνας est scribendum, aut nihil mutandum est. Hoc autem praestare uidetur; uere enim obseruauit Melcher (de sermone Epict. p. 2) Epictetum sententias primarias secundariis hasque participiis praeferre consueuisse.

IV 10 18 Ἴνα δὲ ταῦτα γένηται, οὐ μικρὰ <δεῖ> δέξασθαι οὐδὲ μικρῶν ἀποτυχεῖν. Suppleui <δεῖ>, quia infinitiuus pro imperatiuo, sicuti usitatus est in uerbis quibus inest uis agendi, ita in uerbo ἀποτυχεῖν non admittitur.

IV 12 5 ὁ τέκτων μὴ προσέχων . . . ; <ὁ κυβερνήτης μὴ προσέχων> κυβερνᾷ ἀσφαλέστερον; Priorem lacunae partem suppleuerim: ὁ τέκτων μὴ προσέχων <πελεκᾷ κάλλιον> coll. IV 8 7 οὗτος οὐκ ἔστι τέκτων, πελεκᾷ γὰρ κακῶς.

IV 12 11 ἐγὼ δ' ἔχω, τίني με δεῖ ἀρέσκειν, τίني ὑποτετάχθαι, τίني πείθεσθαι τῷ θεῷ καὶ <τοῖς> μετ' ἐκείνον. ἐμέ ἐκείνος συνέστησεν ἐμαντῷ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν προαίρεσιν ὑπέταξεν ἐμοὶ μόνῳ. Male <τοῖς> addidit codicis S corrector; supplendum esse καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον <ἐμαντῷ> subsequentia clamant. ἐμαντῷ pro superuacaneo nimirum deleuit librarius (ἐμαντῷ ἐμέ—συνέστησεν ἐμαντῷ).

IV 12 17 Haec ita diuido: τίς καιρὸς φῶδῃς, τίς καιρὸς παιδιᾶς, τίνων παρόντων τί ἔσται ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος; μὴ τι καταφρονήσουσιν (Schweigh. pro -σωσιν) ἡμῶν <οἱ> συνόντες, μὴ τι ἡμεῖς αὐτῶν; πότε σκῶψαι καὶ τίνας; πότε καταγελάσαι καὶ ἐπὶ τίνι; πότε συμπεριενεχθῆναι καὶ τίνι; καὶ λοιπὸν ἐν τῇ συμπεριφόρᾳ πῶς τηρῆσαι τὸ αὐτοῦ.

FRAGM. III (p. 405 Schenkl) καὶ γὰρ ἰσχυρὸς (lege ἰσχυρότερός) ἔστι καὶ κρείσσων κτέ.

FRAGM. IV (p. 406) Τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔθετο ὁ θεός, τὰ δ' οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν. ἐφ' ἡμῖν μὲν—τὴν χρῆσιν τῶν φαντασιῶν.—τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐποιήσατο. οὐκοῦν κτέ. Formam mediam ποιῆσθαι τι ἐπὶ τινι legere me non memini: fortasse ἐποίησε restituendum est (ΕΠΟΙΗΘΕΙΟΝ). De media forma θέσθαι cf. M. Antonin. II 11.

FRAGM. XXIV (p. 419) Ἐὰν νέος τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον, ἐγκαλεῖ τοῖς θεοῖς, <ὅτι . . .> ὅτι δέον αὐτὸν ἤδη ἀναπεπαῦσθαι πρᾶγμα ἔχει, καὶ οὐδὲν ἥττον, ὅταν προσῇ ὁ θάνατος, ξῆν βούλεται καὶ πέμπει παρὰ τὸν ἰατρὸν καὶ δεῖται αὐτοῦ μηδὲν ἀπολιπεῖν προθυμίας καὶ ἐπιμελείας. θαυμαστοί, ἔφη, ἄνθρωποι μῆτε ξῆν θέλοντες μῆτε ἀποθνήσκουσιν. Vereor ut recte Wolf adulescentis de matura sua morte querelam post τοῖς θεοῖς excidisse suspicatus sit: uerba quibus fragmentum concluditur μῆτε ξῆν θέλοντες μῆτε ἀποθνήσκουσιν unius eiusdemque inconstantiam denotant neque nisi in senem quadrare possunt, si respicis illa δέον ἀναπεπαῦσθαι

et ξῆν βούλεται, unde sic scribo: <Γέρων> ἐὰν νέος τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον, ἐγκαλεῖ τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅτι δέον αὐτὸν (*ipsum*) ἤδη ἀναπεπαῦσθαι κτέ.

FRAGM. XXXVI (p. 423) 'Αθάνατον χρῆμα ἢ ἀλήθεια καὶ αἰδίων, παρέχει δὲ ἡμῖν οὐ κάλλος χρόνῳ μαραινόμενον οὔτε (οὐδὲ?) παρρησίαν ἀφαιρεῖ τὴν ὑπὸ δίκης, ἀλλὰ τὰ δίκαια κτέ. Corrige ἀφαιρετὴν.

ENCH. c. 30 Τὰ καθήκοντα ὡς ἐπίπαν ταῖς σχέσεσι παραμετρῆται (sequuntur officiorum erga patrem, erga fratrem praecepta). οὕτως οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ γείτονος, ἀπὸ τοῦ πολίτου, ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὸ καθήκον εὐρήσεις, ἐὰν τὰς σχέσεις ἐθίξῃ θεωρεῖν. Sententia quae postulatur haec est: 'sic *et in* uicino, *in* ciue, *in* imperatore obseruandum officium inuenies' i.e. καπὶ τοῦ γείτονος, ἐπὶ τ. π., ἐπὶ τ. σ. Vide ind. s.u. εὐρίσκω ἐπὶ.

ENCH. c. 53 (= *Diss.* II 23 42, III 22 95, IV 1 131, 4 34)

ἄγου δέ μ', ὦ Ζεῦ, καὶ σύ γ' ἢ Πεπρωμένη κτέ.

Celeberrimos Cleanthis uersus quamquam corrupte tradit Dialogus περὶ πολιτικῆς ἐπιστήμης (ed. A. Mai=Scriptt. uett. n.c. II p. 607) Socraticae attribuit, tamen ad emendanda uerba γ' ἢ, quae in Epictetis uarie leguntur, conferunt; illic enim haec sunt: Ἀγεις με, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ σύ γ' ὦ Πεπρωμένη.

E SENTENTIIS COD. VATICANI 1144 6 (p. 480 Schenkl) Ἐοίκασιν οἱ κόλακες κηφῆσι—οἱ χρηστοὶ μελίτταις· καὶ γὰρ φιλόπονοι καὶ αὐτοurgoὶ—καὶ ἐπιληκτικοὶ καὶ κοινωνικοί. Typothetae errori tribuendum uidetur ἐπιληκτικοὶ (quamquam in ind. repetiuit editor), cf. 5 Ὡσπερ μέλιτταν οὐ διὰ τὸ κέντρον μισεῖς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν καρπὸν τημελεῖς, οὕτω καὶ φίλον μὴ δι' ἐπίπληξιν ἀποστραφῆς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν εὖνοιαν ἀγάπα.

E MOSCHIONIS ὑποθηκῶν 3 (p. 487 Schenkl) Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ τινὲς χρώμενος ὀπλῶ τῷ λόγῳ πρὸς τὴν κακίαν καὶ σκοπῶν τὸ καλὸν καὶ προβαλλόμενος διατέλει. Immo σκεπῶν uel σκέπων.

Et haec quidem hactenus: nunc breuiter enotare licebit quae ab aliis prae-parata immerito uel spreuisse uidetur editor uel neglexisse. I 2 2 [—] Τὸ δ' ἀπάγξασθαι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀφόρητον[;—]. Schweigh. I 9 13 ὁ θάνατος οὐ κακόν; idem dubitanter, ut saepius certissima quaeque (dubii conferant I 24 4 et 6, 27 7). I 9 21 ἐπιστρεφόμεθα Shaftesbury. I 30 2 τὰ ἀπροαίρετα οὐδὲν Schweigh. I 30 5 πείσῃ τι τοιοῦτον Upton (cf. II 1 28, 10 27, 11 12, II 12 13, IV 1 68, 6 33). II 10 2 κατὰ τὸν λόγον Schweigh. (cf. I 12 26, II 9 2). II 12 23 'ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐπιμεμέλησαι;'—αὐτός.—'πότερον κτέ.' idem. II 16 31 ἂν μὲν καὶ τοῦτ' Wolf, probante Schweigh., ibidem πράγματα τὰ τυχόντα Upton. II 19 26 μὴ ζηλοτυπῆσαι (τί γὰρ δεῖ περιπλέκειν;) θεὸν Schweigh. III 1 1 ἐκάστων idem. III 2 14 ἀνθρωπάριον ταπεινόν Reiske, non repetiuit Schenkl in ed. min. III 13 5 ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινωνικοῦ εἶναι καὶ φιλάλληλοι Wolf (cf. I 11 24, III 17 3, 24 12, IV 1 45, 8 23, 11 36). III 16 9 ἐνεγράφετε Schweigh. III 22 27 ἐν

σώματι οὐκ ἔστιν et sic deinceps ἐν κτήσει οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐν ἀρχῇ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐν βασιλείᾳ οὐκ ἔστιν Upton. III 22 94 παρέχει τὸ Wolf (cf. infra παραδίδωσιν).¹ IV 1 160 οὐδ' ἔτι ἐβουλεύσατο Schweigh., sed uindicare non ausus: putabat ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι interdum pro uerbo simplici esse, sed locis quos attulit forma actiua ἐπιβουλεύειν posita est. Vide indicem et imprimis I 2 13 οὐδε βουλεύομαι = ne cogito quidem). IV 6 26 κατὰ τ. φ. μέτρα idem. IV 7 20 πρόσκειμαι Wolf. IV 10 24 πόσον ἀντὶ πόσον; Schweigh.

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¹In uerbis τὸ ἐπιτιμᾶν τισι καὶ δύνασθαι B(lass) *Liter. Centralblatt* 1899 *N.* 5 p. 171 deleuit καὶ, sed et τισι ut integrum sit vereor.

NOTES ON CICERO, *PRO SESTIO*.

§ 2 EGO autem, iudices, *quoniam* qua uoce mihi in agendis gratiis commemorandoque eorum qui de me optime meriti sunt beneficio esse utendum putabam, ea nunc uti cogor in eorum periculis depellendis, iis potissimum uox haec seruiat, quorum opera et mihi et uobis et populo Romano restituta est.

The above passage is quoted as given in our current texts. The *quoniam* was quite gratuitously inserted by Halm, and those who followed him have vied with each other in suggestions as to how the rest of the sentence was to be made to fit the emendation. It is amazing to think that German critics and editors should have proposed, as an alternative, to delete the words *iis potissimum uox haec seruiat* in order to connect *eorum* and *quorum*. It has even been laid down that the sentence should stop at *depellendis*—all the rest, instead of being characteristically Ciceronian, having been added by some interpolator!

On the contrary the passage needs only a very slight emendation to be perfectly restored. The true remedy is to supply *ut*,—not, as Wesenberg suggested, after *potissimum*, but before *iis*. We can even see how *ut* has happened to fall out. Some copyist, when he came to *utiis* or *utis* in his text, thought that he was needlessly repeating, at the end of the clause, the *uti* before *cogor*. So he left it out.

§ 7 et ad eum filiam eius adduxit, et maximis praeterea adsiduisque officiis et illius aerumnam, quoad uixit, et filiae solitudinem sustentauit.

Here the words *praeterea adsiduisque* come from Mommsen, and are adopted by all editors, as giving an excellent sense. The vulgar tradition has nothing to correspond to them, but the importance of the recension contained in P (Par. 7794) can be demonstrated from the fact that the first hand gives the unintelligible *praeteritas esse sed iis et*. Though subsequently deleted by the second hand in P, and consequently omitted in the *Bernensis* and all other MSS. belonging to this family, these words undoubtedly point to something without which the text would not be complete. Cicero can hardly have written *et maximis officiis et illius aerumnam*, etc. But the copyist who was originally responsible for them must have failed to understand some forms of contraction, and must have found his archetype here, as frequently elsewhere in the speeches contained in P, somewhat difficult to decipher and interpret. Beginning at the end with *sed iis et*, it is easy

and obvious to suggest *studiis et*, and no fault can be found with *studiis et officiis* (compare, e.g. pro Flacco § 52). This leaves *praeteritas esse* still to be accounted for.

My suggestion is that *esse* may conceal some abbreviated form of *necessitudine*, while *praeter* may very easily be the misreading of a contraction for *pro* or *propter*. This would give *maximis pro illa necessitudine studiis et officiis*: cf. Mur. § 7 *tibi omnia studia atque officia pro nostra necessitudine . . . praestitisse arbitror*.

§ 8 *ita suum consulem observavit, ut et illi quaestor bonus et bonis omnibus optimus civis uideretur*.

Recent editors accept the conjecture *et bonis omnibus* in place of the vulgate *et vobis omnibus*, which is omitted in P, but supplied by the second hand. Fr. Richter would have substituted *et omnibus bonis*, in order to account for the omission, the eye of the copyist being supposed to have passed from *bonus* to *bonis*. But while references to such passages as § 114 and § 133 are appropriate enough to illustrate this use of the adjective, it may well be doubted whether Cicero would have brought in the 'boni' here,—half-way, as it were, between *quaestor bonus* and *optimus civis*. If instead of *et vobis* we read (with Klotz) *et nobis* we get a quite satisfactory antithesis, with the minimum of change, to *et illi*. Cicero puts his colleague Antonius on the one side, and all those with whom he himself was supposed to act on the other.

§ 12 *Sestius cum illo exercitu summa celeritate C. Antonium consecutus est*.

Here for *est* the copyist of P originally wrote *.c.*, which he afterwards changed to *ē*, and this led Halm to propose the reading given above. But there can be little doubt that here too we should return to the vulgate,—*summa celeritate est Antonium consecutus*. For the rhythm, which Zielinski approves, cf. § 51 '*non fere quenquam est invidia civium consecuta*,' § 5 '*est a fortuna ipsa conlocatus*,' § 143 '*esse immortalem gloriam consecutus*': also Or. § 214.

§ 15 *Sed necesse est, ante quam de tribunatu P. Sesti dicere incipiam, me totum superioris anni rei publicae naufragium exponere, in quo colligendo ac reficienda salute communi omnia reperientur P. Sesti facta, dicta, consilia uersata. Fuerat ille annus iam in re publica, iudices, cum in magno motu et multorum timore intentus est arcus in me unum, sicut uulgo ignari rerum loquebantur, re quidem uera in uniuersam rem publicam, traductione ad plebem furibundi hominis ac perdit, mihi irati, sed multo acrius otii et communis salutis inimici*.

A fundamental misconception seems to have lain at the root of all the attempted emendations of this passage. Müller thinks it worth while to cite no fewer than seven, of which Halm's '*Furere coeperat ille annus iam in r.p.*' is most in favour.

The first thing to be noted is that *ille annus* must be the same as *superioris anni* in the preceding sentence,—i.e. B.C. 58, the year before the tribunate of Sestius. The mistake has been that critics and commentators have postulated a sort of arithmetical progression, first the tribunate of Sestius (57), then the year that preceded it (*superioris anni*—58) and then the year in which Clodius came forward as a member of a plebeian family (59). In order to bring in this third year, they accept Madvig's emendation *iam* for *tam*, and take *fuera*t to mean 'had passed away.' But one has only to read the previous sentence to see that *ille annus* must mean 'the year already referred to,' viz. 58, and instead of obelizing *Fuera*t, as Müller does, the text should be exhibited thus:

*Fuera*t ille annus tam in re publica, iudices,† cum, etc. I make the bold suggestion that a line has been dropped after *iudices*: it may have run—'tam in re publica, iudices, <calamitosus quam fore suspicabamur tum> cum,' etc. The sequence is then natural and complete: before I begin to speak of the tribunate of Sestius (57), I must speak of the events of 58, the year in which Clodius was tribune. That year had been as disastrous as we foresaw it would be in the year preceding it, when Clodius took the first step in his iniquitous policy. Cp. § 16 ignarus quidem certe et imprudens impendentium tantorum sederum et malorum.

§ 18 a quibus compulsus olim, ne in Scyllaeo illo aeris alieni tamquam [in] fretu ad columnam adhaeresceret, in tribunatus portum perfugerat.

Everything here depends on the *fides* of the Scholiast. He alone gives *tamquam*, and also the *in* before *Scyllaeo*. All MSS. have the preposition before *fretu*. It seems probable that *in* was wrongly inserted in the latter place by a copyist who did not see that *fretu* must go with *Scyllaeo*. In fact *Scyllaeo* used to be explained as a noun, whereas obviously *scyllaeum fretum* = *fretum Siculum* or *Siciliense*. On the above reading, which is that of Müller's text, the preposition should be deleted before *fretu*. On the other hand there may be something wrong about *tamquam*, which is omitted in the MSS., as is also the *in* before *Scyllaeo*. I am inclined to propose 'ne Scyllaeo illo aeris alieni <*iactatus*> fretu ad columnam adhaeresceret.'

§ 24 Ex his adsiduis eius cotidianisque sermonibus et quod uidebam quibuscum hominibus in interiore parte aedium uiueret et quod ita domus ipsa fumabat ut multa eius sermonis indicia redolerent, statuebam sic, etc.

Sermonis is impossible in this context,—especially after *sermonibus* in the previous part of the sentence. *Sermonum* would be no improvement, and such suggestions as *sordium*, *libidinum*, etc., must also be rejected: if a genitive plural is wanted *compotorum* would suit the passage better. But it seems obvious that the lost word must be a genitive singular in agreement with *eius*. Founding on the termination *-onis*, I suggest *9sortionis* = *consortionis*: de Off. iii § 26 'dissoluetur omnis humana consortio.' *Consensionis* would be

even nearer the *ductus litterarum*, but seems hardly so appropriate: de Am. § 43 *talīs improborum consensio*.

§ 37 Ad suam enim quamdam magis ille gloriam quam ad perspicuam salutem rei publicae spiritus sumpserat, cum unus in legem per uim latam iurare noluerat: denique uidebatur ea condicione tam fortis fuisse, ut cum patriae caritate constantiae gloriam commutaret.

In this passage Koch's *spiritus sumpserat*, adopted by Müller, is the last of a long line of emendations (*uim, exilium, arma, casum sumps.*), all of which seem to me to be negated by the preposition *ad*. It may be that Madvig's *tum spectarat* (or *eo tempore spectarat?*) is as near to the true text as we are likely to get. Halm conjectured *respexerat*, Jacob *suspexerat*.

Editors have failed to note the curious parallelism which occurs in the next section (§ 38), where we have *Eas res gesseram . . . quae non modo ad singularem meam gloriam sed ad communem salutem . . . pertinerent*, ea condicione gesseram ut, etc. Having regard to this, and also to what may have dropped out after *r.p.* (for *reipublicae*), I venture to propose, in place of *sumpserat*, the words *respiciens rem gesserat*. With *ad* some word like *respicere* seems to be indispensable.

§ 40 ex quibus unum habere exercitum in Italia maximum: duo, qui priuati tum essent, et praeesse et parare, si uellent, exercitum posse idque facturos esse dicebat.

The reference here is to Caesar, Pompeius, and Crassus. The MSS unanimously give *praeesse*, for which Fr. C. Wolff suggested *praesto esse*: Müller reads *Romae esse*. Orelli came nearer what seems to be the truth than any of them: he conjectured *reipublicae praeesse*. We have only to suppose that before *praeesse* the letters *p.r.* were inadvertently omitted, and we get the unimpeachable reading *populo Romano praeesse*, which may now be admitted to the text. Cp. § 107 where *praebuit* dropped out after *pop. Rom.* (not before it, as Zielinski rightly argues, against recent editors).

§ 50 Atque ille uitam suam, ne inultus esset, ad incertissimam spem et ad rei publicae fatum reseruauit:

For *fatum*, which is an emendation of Pantagathus, all the codd. give *ratum*. The true reading, I venture to think, is *interitum*,—a word which has again to be supplied in the text at § 54. In his 'Contractions in Early Latin Minuscule MSS.' Professor Lindsay mentions the fact that *inter* was sometimes represented by the letter I, with a cross-stroke (usually oblique). It may therefore very easily have fallen out here, after which *-ritum* became *ratum*. That *interitum* is not too strong a word to use of Marius may be seen from de Or. iii, 2, 8, 'illam post reditum eius caedem omnium crudelissimam.'

§ 78 si intercessisset collega Fabricio, laeisset rem publicam, sed rei publicae iure laeisset.

Rei publicae is here very uncertain. The codd. give *R.P.*, or *p.r.*, and the vulgate has *rem publicam*. I suggest *tribunicio iure*, which is obviously appropriate to the context.

§ 89 Et uinci turpe putauit et deterrerī †etiam eripere eicit† ut quoniam sibi in illum legibus uti non liceret, illius uim neque in suo neque in rei publicae periculo pertimesceret.

The identity of the tradition here shows that the archetype has been carefully reproduced. What is given above is the reading of P¹: the 2nd hand varies only to the extent of *etiam eripi reeicit ut*, while G gives *elegit ut*.

A third clause, such as has been supplied by editors, following Madvig, does not seem to be quite indispensable: *et uinci . . . et deterrerī* are sufficient in themselves, the latter covering the second and third of the three alternatives just enumerated. The first part seems naturally to close with *deterrerī*, and that is why Madvig's emendation looks somewhat overweighted,—*et deterrerī* et latere: perfecit ut *quoniam*, etc. It would be nearer the ductus litterarum to write *et deterrerī* et clam eripi: id egit ut *quoniam*, etc. For this use of *eripi* cp. § 18: Caesar B.G. i, 4, 2 *per eos ne causam diceret se eripuit*.

But it seems as though something were necessary here to lead up to *praesidii comparati* in the next section: cp. end of § 92 *in necessitate defendendae salutis suae praesidioque contra uim et manum comparando*. Perhaps we should write *Et uinci turpe putauit et deterrerī*: itaque manum parare coepit ut *quoniam*, etc.

§ 110 Graeculum se atque otiosum putari uoluit, studio litterarum se subito dedit. Nihil †sane acte† iuuabant anagnostae, libelli pro uino etiam saepe oppignerabantur.

I have counted some fourteen recorded methods of emending this corrupt passage, and perhaps it is superfluous to add any further suggestions. Luterbacher's conjecture is as good as any: *nihil sane artes iuuabant anagnostae*. I wish only to call attention to the fact that a study of the codd. would lead one to write, *Nihil sane Actaei iuuabant anagnostae*, and then to ask if it is possible that Cicero may have used this form of *Attici*, which is what Madvig proposes.

§ 141 deinde ad eam rem publicam tuendam adgressi, quae tanta dignitate est ut eam defendentem occidere non aliud sit quam oppugnantem rerum potiri?

For *non aliud*, which occurs in all the codd., Schuetz conjectured *optabilis*, and is followed by Halm. Some change is certainly required. Müller reads *laudabilis*, and there are at least a dozen other suggestions,—*maius*, *melius*, *ornatius*, *praestabilis*, etc. No one has suggested *honorabilis* or *optatius*.

The *iud.* in *aliud* suggests to me that *iudices* may be concealed here: how would it do to read *optatius, iudices, sit?*

§ 145 *carui patria, quam, ut leuissime dicam, corpore texeram.*

This is the reading of Müller, following Koch. The MSS. have *certa* (*certo*) *detexeram*, which has been variously emended,—*certe dilexeram* Madvig, *c. erexeram* Wesenberg, *certa die texeram* Novak.

The reading of P is *certadeie* (with the two last letters deleted) *texeram*. Could this be resolved into *certe abiectam erexeram*? I am not so clear as Landgraf is about the necessity of *certe*: after *ut leuissime dicam* one might expect, according to Ciceronian usage, a less direct mode of statement: Phil. XII, § 30 *etsi hanc legationem res publica, ut leuissime dicam, non desiderat*. Perhaps *certe* is a mark of a reader's approval that has come in from the margin. In any case *corpore* will not do. If we retain *certe* we should read *quam certe protexeram*.

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LATIN WORD STUDIES.

1. LATIN *interpres*, *miles* etc. and the confix *-et-*, 'errans,' cf. *-ētum* 'allée.'

In *Am. Jr. Phil.* 28, 413 I derived the suffix in Gothic *fram-aþs* 'alienus', Latin *com-et-* 'socius' and Greek *ἑται* (from **σῆται*) 'comites' (cf. Lith. *svētis* 'hospes') from the root ET- 'errare, ire'; and I proposed the name 'confix' for a suffix whose origin could be traced back to an original compounding element. I now find further evidence for the confix *-et-* in Latin *interpret-*, 'go-between'; and I explain *pr-et-* as a fusion-product ('blend') of the synonymous roots PER- (in English fares) and ET- 'errare, ire'. Nor is this explanation in conflict with the current comparison between *interpres* and Gothic *frōps* 'klug, verständig': it is simply that 'go-between' is nearer the meaning. The wisdom attributed to the wanderer, to the traveller in far lands,—an idea forever embalmed for English folk in Shakespeare's counter-turn,

Home-keeping youth have ever homely wits—

gave to *frōps* its sense. Of the further cognates of *interpres*, as cited by Walde, s.v., only Lettic *prāts* 'Wille' and O.Ir. *raith* 'er merkte' show any great generalization beyond this semantic development; and, as to *raith* (from Celtic <*p*>*ratiō*, cf. Stokes in Fick's *Woert.* ii⁴. p. 226), the sense is derivable along the lines of 'inuenire', and has been actually reached in *comperio*, *reperio*, *experior*, wherein PER- 'to fare' is cognate with *pr-et-*¹; while the sense of 'Wille' (in Lettic *prāts*) is derivable from the sense of 'Sinn, Verstand' (in Gothic *fraþi*), along lines well attested in the group to which Lat. *mens* belongs. The fusion-root PRET-, with *o*-vocalism, may also be recognized in the Slavic verb *pratiti* 'begleiten, schicken' (cf. Miklosich, *Woert.*, p. 261); and in Latin *pretium* 'ὁδοιπόριον, ἐφόδιον' (cf. 'fare').

The confix *-et-*² 'errans' really has a wide range in Latin. Thus in *miles* we have a compound of *mile* [from **s(e)m-isli* 'co-gang, gang, ging,' see *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 22, 38] + *-et-*, and in *milites* the sense is 'gang-goers'.³ So *caeles* is a 'sky-goer' (cf. Skr. *divt-caras* and Lat. *caelicola*), *āles* a 'wing-goer', *pedes* a 'foot-goer'

¹ O.Ir. *raith* might as well be derived from Celtic **ratiō*, cognate with Latin *reor*, *ratus*.

² I formerly explained (*Am. Jr. Phil.* 20, 167) *comes* as from **com-it-s* with an analogical *e*, as in *index*, but *index*, *vindex* and, above all, *iudex* may all contain *-dak-*, cognate with *διδάσκει* and *δάκτυλος*; and, were not Latin *dico* attested by dialect forms with *-dic-* (cf. especially *meddix* 'magistratus'), I

should be tempted to think *-dico* a composition form of **daco*; but both **daco* and *dico* are proper derivatives of DE(Y)-R- (cf. *Am. Jr. Phil.* 26, 395).

³ With **i-sli* 'gang' cf. Skr. *ayūtam* 'myriad,' a tautological complex in which *ay-* means 'gang' and *-utam* (cognate with *ū-tis* 'gang') something like 'company', perhaps.

(cf. the explanation of *πεζός* from *πεδ+γο-* 'foot-goer' in Schulze's *Lat. Eigennam.* p. 435, fn. 3), and *eques* a 'horse-goer'. Nor do I explain *eques* and *ἵπποτα* as kindred derivative types, though the grade *-ot-* might as well be recognized in *ἵπποτα* as in Gothic *fram-aþs*, because *ἵπποτης* (from **ἵππο-[πο]της*) seems to me rather to be identical with Skr. *áśvapatis* 'horse-lord', and of the type of *δεσπότης* and Lat. *hospes* (from **hostipotis*). Greek does, however, exhibit the confix *-et-*, and with the specific implication of number inherent to 'gang', in *οἰκ-έται* 'domi-socii': *φυλ-έται* 'tribu-socii', *εὐν-έται* 'lecti-socii': in these compounds we can fairly feel the sense of *ἔται* 'comites'. In *ἀγρότης* 'ruri-errans' we have the grade *-ot-* unless *ἵπποτης* (*δεσπότης*) affected the suffix of *ἀγρότης*, *δημότης* etc., and especially of *τοξότης*. In *ικέτης* (*ἐπέτης*) 'qui uenit (sequitur) errans' we have a tautological formation wherein the sense of the confix easily reveals itself. In *ικέτης* we may find the archetype for *εὐρέτης*, *ἡχέτης*. Thus we remove the concrete Greek nouns of the *ἀγρότης* and *οἰκέτης* class from the group of abstracts turned concrete, into which they do not well fit.

The root *et-* 'ire' may also lie *perdu* in Homeric *σύνεσις* 'comitium' and, until proof of *F-* is rendered, we may interpret *ἐτησίαι* as 'die Passatwinde' (Anglice, 'trade-winds'), with stress on Passat-, i.e. 'uenti quorum uirtute erratur (nauigatur)', cf. Herodotus 6, 140 *Μιλτιάδης . . . ἐτησίῳ ἀνέμων κατεστηκότων, νηὶ κατάνυσας* etc.; Cicero, *N.D.*, 2, 131, 'ab isdem <uentis etesiis> . . . maritimi cursus celeres et certi deriguntur'; and, further, in Euripides, *Alk.* 336, we may interpret, *πένθος οὐκ ἐτήσιον* as 'maeror non <trans>iturus'.

Now I do not conceal from myself that all these derivations from *ET-* lie among the may-be's of etymology, in the shadowland of morphology. But we will come into a clearer light by correcting the quite vague definitions now current for *οὐκ ἐτός* 'haud frustra' and for *ἐτώσιος* 'uanus, irritus'. So far, there is no evidence for **Feτός*, and the comparison of *ἐτός* with Skr. *svatás*, Av. *xʷato*, not, in my opinion, solidly supported by Bartholomae's definition (*Woert.* col. 1862) of *οὐκ ἐτός* by 'nicht aus sich (=nicht ohne äusseren Grund)', does not satisfy legitimate semantic demands. I define *ἐτός* by 'erranter'; morphologically, it may be either an ablv.-gen. in *-os* to a monosyllabic stem *et-*, or a (suffixless) locative (?accusative) to a stem *etos-*.¹ As to *ἐτώσιος* 'qui errat', characteristically used by Homer of a missile weapon that goes wide of the mark, nothing could be less justified than the initial *F* with which it is provided in the lexica of Leo Meyer and Prellwitz. Homeric scholars, like Monro (*Homeric Grammar*) and Jebb (*Homer*), are very careful not to include the word in their lists of words with *F*. The truth is that, in the 5 Iliad and 3 Odyssey instances of *ἐτώσιον ἐτώσια*, 1 instance (*ω* 283, *δῶρα δ' ἐτώσια² παῦτα χαρίζεο, μυρὶ ὀπάξων*) does not, without emendation, admit *F-*, while in the other 7, *ἐτώσιον* (—*a*) follows the

¹ I notice in passing that O.Bulg. *otii* 'von', with the original sense of 'weg-' (so Miklosich, *Woert.* p. 228), cf. Eng. 'away', may be adequately explained as an *o*-grade derivative of *ET-* 'errare, ire'.

² It is curious how, in this example, *δῶρα ἐτώσια* lends itself to the interpretation of 'dona aduenae

errantis'; and in Σ 104 Achilles, holding aloof from the fray, calls himself *ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης* 'a profitless burden of the earth', ay, but also 'qui arua aliena onerat'. Similarly, Hesiod's *ἐτωσιεργὸς ἀνὴρ* (*Op.* 411) may, in view of all the context, be interpreted as 'qui opus alienum facit'.

trochaic caesura of the third foot, where hiatus is allowed: to say nothing of the fact that 2 of the 7 exhibit $-ι(ν)$ and 2 $-υ$ before $ἐτώσιον$. And $ἐτώσιος$ we can now explain completely as to its form: it is a reduplicated formation, $*ἐτώτιος$, based on a noun $*ἐτωτη$ (: the root ET-), like $ἐδωδή$ (: ED-), $ἀγωγή$ (: ἀγ-), cf. $ἐδώδιμος$, $ἀγώγιμος$, $ἀγώγιον$; and Skr. *átithis* 'wanderer' also looks to be a reduplicated formation.¹

Of course, I foresee serious objections to the vocalism which I assign to the root ET-, if Gothic *aþn* 'year' belongs both with Skr. *átati* 'errat' and with Latin *annus*, but I have never accepted the equation of Gothic *aþn* with *annus*, though I derive *aþn* from *otno-*, which may well be a derivative of ET- 'errare', and is not to be separated from the group to which *Φέτος* 'year'² belongs [with 'prothetic' *w-* due, I fancy, to a syncretism between $*ETOS$ (: Gothic *aþn*³) and the group to which Latin *ver* 'spring' belongs]. But of all the cognates ever suggested for Skr. *átati* 'errat', $ἐτός$, $ἐτώσιος$ and $ἐτησίαι$, as explained above, seem to me the clearest, especially when we add to them Thurneysen's very neat explanation of *ōtium* (*Archiv*, 13, 24) as 'unbeschäftigtes Hin- und Hergehen, Müssiggang',—a definition that he might have made much concreter by adducing Eng. *loafs*: Germ. *läuft*.⁴ Besides, [land-]louper, vagrant (vagrom) furnish excellent illustrations of the meaning; further cf. *lounge* 'an idle gait or stroll' and *stroll* 'an idle and leisurely walk' (from Webster's *Intern. Dict.*).

Further derivatives of ET- 'errare, ire' may easily be found. Let us set up, for instance, a noun $*ὄτ-ρος$ 'goer', with the connotation of 'celer, ἱταμός'⁵ ('praeceps'), comparing for the signification Span. *andador* 'que anda mucho ó con velocidad' (also note *ida* 'impetu'), Germ. *gänglich* 'leicht u. gut gehend' (Heyne: ein gängiger hund <=quasi κύων ἱταμός>), *gänge*=agilis (cf. Grimm, *Woert.* s.v. 1239), *gängel* 'gut zu fusze' (ibid. 1243). Legitimate denominatives to this

¹ With $ἐρώσιος$ 'errans' we might compare $περιώσιος$ 'immense, vast, extraordinary', but 'circumerrans' hardly justifies the developed sense of 'immanis'; and 'praeter-fas' seems a good explanation of $περιώσιος$ (: $δσιος$ 'iustus'). However, if the rough breathing of $δσιος$ may be safely impugned, an adequate definition of $δσιος$ is 'herkömmlich; fromm' (: Eng. *from*, see Skeat's *Concise Etym. Dict.*, s.v. *frame*), which admits of the derivation of $*δσιος$ from ET- 'errare': for the sense, cf. Lat. *antiquos* 'bonus', with the examples of the *Thesaurus* at ii. 179, 24 sq., rather than at 180, 19 sq.

² Since this was written Professor Buck has pointed out apparent evidence for $*wotos$ in Greek (See *Glotta*, I. p. 128. But it is possible that $νέωτα$ is to be derived, not from $*νeo-Fata$, but rather from $*νew-Fata$, with vowel lengthening in composition. This phenomenon, supposed to be limited to Sanskrit (cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss*, ii.², p. 80), is perhaps also found in Greek, e.g. in Hesychian $νέω-χερμος$ 'γῇ νωστὶ ἐργασμένη.' In explanation of $-χερμος$ I note Italic *herna* 'saxa' (v. Walde, *woert.*, s.v.), and, though I have not been able to turn the entry up in Schmidt's smaller edition, the following

lemma from Hesychius as cited by Liddell and Scott: $χερμάω$ 'to throw $χερμάδες$ out of a field, and so clear it for cultivation'.—Nor can we be sure that $νέωτα$ did not start from a stem $*νewo-wōt-$; nor is the influence of $νέωτερος$ on $νέωτα$ inconceivable.—Professor Buck's remaining evidence, the Socrian adverb $ἐμπιπρές$ 'horno', may own its vowel color entirely to the synonym $σᾶτες$ 'horno'.

³ So far as regards the suffixes in $w>ETOS$ and $OTNO-S$, note the syncretic *veternus* 'dotage' (: <'mentis' erratio'), from *vetes-ymos*. The syncretism is more fully illustrated in $ἐν-ἀργής$ (-es stem; simplex in $-ίτ$, $ἀργήτες$, nom. plur.): Gothic $-airkns$ (-no- stem), both suffixes in $ἀργεννός$.

⁴ For the sense of 'loafs' cf. the following excerpt (cited in *The Century Dictionary*) from Lowell's *Biglow Papers*: I once heard one German student say to another 'Ich lauf (lofe) hier bis du wiederkehrst', and he began to saunter up and down—in short, to 'loaf'.

⁵ $ἱταμός$ looks rather like a tautological compound, with a part from $εἶμι$ and a part from $τέμνω$ 'procedo'; cf. $ἀπραίμος$ 'butcher', as explained in *Class. Rev.* 20. 253 fn. 3.

*ὄτρος would be *ὄτρεϊ, whence ὄτρηρός 'celer, gängig'; and, with causative sense, ὀτρύνει 'accelerat' (cf. Fraenkel, *Griech. Denom.* p. 36): though ὀτρύνει might come direct from *ὀτρύς, cf. ἐργότρος, which Hesychius defines by παράσκοπος ἔργων = quasi Werk-begeher, qui operas accelerat. Nor is the sense of 'celer' left unattested in Sanskrit, where we find *átvas* 'renner, ross,' a plain derivative of *átati* 'errat'.

Note may also be taken of the following Hesychian entries: ἔσμιον· νόστιμον; ἔσμός· ὄχλος, πλῆθος, συναθροισμός. κυρίως δὲ ἐπὶ μελισσῶν; ἔσμός· †δόδος †δεσμός. πλῆθος; ἔσμόνω (Boeoti)· ἐξελεύσομαι: here if we look at the definitions νόστιμον, δόδος and ἐξελεύσομαι, we would seem to be right in setting up a base *ἐτσμο- 'gang', though this involves our rejecting the rough breathing of ἔσμός as analogical. The current derivation of ἔσμός quasi 'settlement' of bees (:ἔξω) can hardly be defended. The 'swarm' of bees is, above all, the breaking-off of a new colony, the wandering of the young bees from the old hive; it is an ἄφεσις (so Aristotle, *H.A.*, 9. 40. 25), an examen (cf. Varro, *R.R.* 2. 16. 29, 'cum examen exiturum est'). And if we do sometimes speak, in English, of the 'swarm', even after it has settled, yet 'swarm', though not having the force of *examen*, very distinctly connotes *examen*. And the very passage cited by Liddell & Scott as an attest for the derivation of ἔσμός from ἔξω exhibits distinctly the connotation of examen, viz.: Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 684, νούσων δ' ἔσμός¹ ἀπ' ἀστῶν | ἴζοι κρατὸς ἀτερπής, where ἔσμός ἀπ' ἀστῶν is spoken of a swarm wandering in the air. The source of the analogical rough breathing, I find, rather in ἴημι [cf. Aristotle's ἀφεσμός (= ἄφεσις) 'examen'], then in ἔξω.

In Latin we have some compounds in which a derivative of ET- 'errare' seems perfectly clear. Take the very concrete sense of *pari-et-* 'wall' [from *pari-* <**p̥rri*: *par-* in *partecta* (cf. Walde, s.v.); cf. *παρά*], or rather, '*περίβολος*', cf. Cicero, *Off.* 2. 29, *parietes-urbis*, and Ennius (Vahlen², *Ann.* 534): 'aut permaceret paries percussus trifaci', where there can be no reasonable doubt that *paries* is the *περίβολος* of a city, though every early Italic house of the hut-urn type, or early Roman house of the *casa Romuli* type, had a peribolic wall. Similarly in Ennius ap. Cic., *Tusc.* 3. 44, 'fana flamma deflagrata, tosti alti stant parietes] deformati atque abiete crispa', we must doubtless recognize in *parietes* the *περίβολοι* of the temples. In *lim-et-* 'cross-path' we also have a rather clear case,² and in *trām-et-*³ (*trām*: *trān-s*:: *ab*: *abs*), same meaning. With *trām-*, cf. *prām-* in *prandium*, and note *trām-a* 'cross<piece>', i.e. 'woof'.

¹ Is this passage, where the MS. reading is *δεσμός*, the source of the gloss given above? Or is *δεσμός* in the gloss a mere lexicographical rhyme, characteristic of the Hesychian definitions? And the idea of *εσμός* might be approximately hit off by a derivative of *δέει* 'binds' (cf. Eng. *knot* = *band* 'δεσμός').

² The only doubt arises from Osc. *liimítum* 'limitum' (von Planta, *Gramm.* ii. No. 127. 29) where, however, the penultimate *i*, if not for *ē* (**limētum*'), cf. *Uktud* = *licito* on the same inscription, l. 37), may

stand for *ē* (cf. von Planta, *Gr.* i. § 31), with a special assimilation due to the antepenultimate *i*. Or is *liimítum* only borrowed Latin, after all?

³ I feel great doubt about deriving *sēmīta* 'path' from *sē* + **mīta* (: *meo*). Perhaps **sēd-īta* (: *seditio*) was, under the influence of *trāmet-*, changed to *sēm-īta*. Or is *sēmīta* from *sē-m-* 'caedere' (cf. *Am. Jr. Phil.* 26, 183), and to be etymologically defined by 'schneide' (ibid. 198)?

Shall we also recognize the confix *-et-* in *abiēs*¹ 'fir-tree', which we may explain as a compound of *abi-* 'stream' [: Celtic *abu-*, *abona*, *abonna* (cf. Stokes in Fick's *Woert*⁴. ii. 10), Lat. *amnis*] + *et*, i.e. 'stream-goer', cf. sea-faring? It is no assumption that the 'fir' was ship-timber, par excellence, cf. Ennius, *Medea Exsul*, 'utinam ne... | caesa accidisset abiegna ad terram trabes'; Vergil, *Georg.* 2. 68, 'casus abies uisura marinos'; *Aen.* 5. 663, 'pictas abiete puppis', 8. 91, 'labitur uncta uadis abies.' In Greek, ἐλάτη 'fir' is used by metonymy for 'oar' (=remus). Who shall tell us that 'nauis' or 'remus' is not the earliest sense? It can hardly be doubted that ὄρυς 'tree, oak' is of subsequent development to δόρυ 'timber', and so *abi-et* 'water-goer' > 'boat' ('oar') may be prior to *abi-et* 'boat-timber; fir', of which the boat (first a dug-out) was built. Similarly, Eng. 'beam' may exhibit an earlier sense than Ger. 'baum' (: base *bhakmó-* or *bhagmo-*, according to Kluge, *Woert.*, s.v. *baum*; and the root BHAK | BHAGH- would seem to be a variant of BHAG- in Skr. *bhājati* 'dividit').

From *abies* and *paries* it is hard to dissociate *aries*, and if *ari-et-* be defined as 'gregi-dux' we get an approach to a sensible analysis. But *-et-* should mean 'wanderer', which is not a less apt designation for a 'ram' than 'der Flüchtige' for a 'buck' (cf. Kluge, *Woert.*, s.v. *bock*); and *ari-et-* may be a tautological compound quasi 'agni-errator' (*ari-*: Lith. *ėras* 'agnus').

We may also find the root ET-, in a long grade, in the enormously productive suffix (i.e. confix) *-ētum* typically used in *arborētum* 'grove of trees; quasi Baumgang'. Thus an *arborētum* is a 'locus ubi arbores errant'; and *-ētum* is an 'erratio', an 'ambulatio', an 'allée', generalized to the sense of 'grove,² lucus', cf. οἶμος (: εἶμυ) 'strip, tract of land': so *arborētum* is a 'strip, tract of trees'. We can more easily recognize the sense in *uinetum* 'ubi uina (i.e. uites) errant', cf. Cicero, *Sen.*, 52, 'quam <uitem>, serpentem multiplici lapsu et erratico, coercet ars agricolarum'; or in *senti<c>etum* 'briar-patch' (the one Plautine example) which has adventitious <c>, due to the analogy of *quercetum*, *ilicetum*, *fruticetum*.³ The assumption of a confix *-ētum* alongside of *-ētum* would simplify for us the statement of Paulus-Festus (p. 47, de P.), *dumecta* antiqui quasi *dumiceta* appellabant, quae nos *dumeta*; and thus *salictum* 'willow-tract' would be explicable by syncope from **sālticētūm*,⁴ but there can hardly be any doubt that *salictum* is a participial formation and that *salicta* (sc. loca) means 'willowed places'. Certainly *arbusta* is of the formative type of *onustus*, though *arbus-sta* 'tree-station' is conceivable.

¹ I write *ē* after the Thesaurus and, with that authority, call in question the Hesychian gloss ἀβιν' ἐλάτην, οἱ δὲ πεύκη, but I do not know whether the syllable *-es* has long *ē*, or long *-s* (-ss), after the current explanation of Plautine *mīlēs*. For a flexion *-ēs -ētis* we might appeal to *pēs pēdis*; and we shall presently see *ē* in the confix *-ētum*.

² In Whitney's *Eng.-Germ. Dictionary* grove is defined as 'die Baum-Allée', and in Wessely's *Dizionario Ingl.-Ital.*, by 'viale d'alberi,' but I find nothing to support these definitions in larger works.

³ The *ē* of these words has affected *bu-citum* 'cow-heath', if we are to accept unchallenged the *bucita* of Varro, *L.L.* 5. 164, emended out of *bucitatum*; but it is not inconceivable, as Lindsay thinks (*Lat. Lang.* p. 335), that *bu<c>etum* quasi 'cow-wood', has, like *senticetum*, an adventitious <c>.

⁴ (On syncope in the rhythmical type
 — — — ≡ > — — () ≡
 see below.)

I do not feel tempted by Lindsay's explanation (*Lat. Lang.* p. 335) of *arborētum* as a quasi participle from **arboreo*, *arborēscō* (as *acētum* : *acesco*). If *-ētum* is not a confix, I should want to start with *ueprē-tum* : *ueprēs*, but I cannot think a rare type like *ueprē-tum* was the starting point of the enormously productive suffix *-ētum*.¹ And, outside of Latin, we find a cognate for *-ētum* in Skr. *atasá-m* 'gebüsch, gestrüpp', nor can I conceive of anything more gratuitous, in view of the facts of usage reported by Leo Meyer (*Gr. Etym.* ii. 100), than the division of αἵμασιή 'Steine, Steinwall' into αἶμ- + *atiā* (: Skr. *atasám*), which is what I understand Uhlenbeck to advocate (*ai. Woert.* s.v.). The true cognation for αἵμασιή—advanced hesitatingly by Prellwitz, s.v.—is with Lith. *sēna* 'grenze', Skr. *sīmántas* to which, for the root-derivation, further add Skr. *sayastrám* 'verbindung, befestigung', *setár-* 'fesseler', *setu-* 'damm, brücke; grenz-zeichen' (? = lapis terminalis). For the suffix, cf. not only *sīmántas* (: *sīmán-* 'Markung eines Dorfes'), but more particularly Lat. *sēmentis* 'seeding'. Perhaps also the Sanskrit plant-name *semantī* 'rosa glandulifera' exhibits, not only the formation but, taking *glandulifera* with emphasis, the meaning also of αἵμασιή, for in the Odyssey αἵμασιαί are 'wall-stones'. The root would be *sē(y)-* 'bind'² ('hurl' (see *Am. Jr. Phil.* 26. 183), and Lat. *sēmen* (*sēmentis*) 'seed' would be a real cognate; and, back of Homer, αἵμασιαί may have meant 'sling-stones' (cf. Skr. *sāyaka-m* 'missile', and Hesychian αἶμους ὀβελίσκους. But it seems better to begin with the sense of 'enclosure', and Homeric αἵμασιαί 'wall-stones' stands in its relation to the primitive meaning much as *arbusta* 'arbores' stands to *arbustum* 'arboretum'.

Last let me mention the curious possibility that *-ōt* (from ET-) exists in Greek flexion, viz. in the adverbs in *-ω* 'die wir durch wärts ausdrücken' (Delbrueck, *Grundr.* iii. p. 581),—e.g., in *πρὶν γ' ἡμέας ἐλθέμεν ἔξω* 'priusquam nos **exot* <iter> eamus' = before we go the outgoing way. Thus we explain completely the form, as well as the sense, of the pair *πρόσω* : Lat. *porrōd*.

And now, by way of recapitulation, a list of the chief derivatives studied of the root ET- 'errare, ire':

(1) *ἐτός* 'erranter', *ἐτησίαι* <'uenti> *errantes*', *ἐτώσιος* 'errans', *uanus*,³ *irritus*; **ἐτσμος* <*ἐσμός* 'gang'; **ὅτπος* 'celer' > *ὀτρύνει* 'accelerat'; Lat. *ōtium* 'loafing'; —*σύνεσις* (i.e. **συνετις*) 'comitium':—add *ἔτι*, Skr. *āti* ['going'] <further>?

(2) Lat. *com-et-* 'co-errans', [*σF*] *ἔται* 'comites', Lith. *sv-ētis* 'hospes'.

pari-et- 'ambi-errans', *abi-et-* 'flumini-errans', *ari-et-* 'agni-errans' (?).

lim-et- 'limi-errans', *tram-et-* 'trans-errans'.

mil-et- 'gang-goer', *caelet-* 'sky-goer'.

alet- 'wing-goer', *pedet-* 'foot-goer'.

equet- 'horse-goer' (*ἵπ[πο]πότης* : Skr. *āṣva-pātis*).

¹ We can restore the primitive sense to *-ētum* in *aspreta* = 'loca asperas-uas habentia.'

² It is with *sē(y)-* 'to bind' that we must connect Umbr. *sēvo-*, Osc. *sēvo-* 'toto-' (quasi 'verbindung');

and perhaps, also, *αἰμός* 'thicket' = quasi *δένδρων ὄρμαθός*.

³ Perhaps *uānus* and *uafer* are to be derived from the root *WĀDH-* 'procedere, errare'.

οἰκέται 'domi-socii', φυλέται 'tribu-socii', ἐνέται 'lecti-socii'.

ἐπέτης 'sequi-errans', ἰκέτης 'veni-errans'.

ἀγρότης 'ruri-errans', Goth. *fram-aþs* 'alienus'.

(3) Lat. *inter-pr-et-* 'inter-uadi-errans', *pretium* 'ὁδοιπόριον', Slavic *pratiti* 'comitare'.

(4) Lat. *-ētum* 'allée' > 'grove': Skr. *átasam* 'thicket'.

(5) The confix *-ot-* in Latin *porrod*, πρόσω 'prorsus'.

EDWIN W. FAY.

NOTES ON JUVENAL, APULEIUS, Etc.

IN the Sixteenth Satire, the first topic Juvenal takes up in detail is the impossibility of obtaining satisfactory legal redress from the praetorians. The account has two divisions: (1) you will have a bad time *yourself* in the military court, (2) and what *friend* will come to *support* you?

This second part, beginning at line 25, reads at present thus:

25 'quis tam procul absit ab urbe
 praeterea, quis tam Pylades, molem aggeris ultra
 ut ueniat? lacrimae siccentur protinus, et se
 excusaturos non sollicitemus amicos.
29 'Da testem,' iudex cum dixerit, audeat ille,' etc.

The logic of the whole passage seems to demand at the very beginning of this second division a clear intimation that there *is* a second division and that it begins here. What is needed is a mention of the *friend* (at present implied only by Pylades in line 26), and of what he would *do* when he had got outside the city. In the received text there is no hint that he is to support the plaintiff in court until line 29 (*da testem*) or less definitely line 28.

Can we then by a slight change make the first short question of the second part (*quis . . . praeterea?*) convey all that is made explicit in the following lines? The simplest method is to read

quis tam procul ADSIT ab urbe praeterea?

Merely 'leaving the city' in any direction (*absit*) is not enough. 'Molem aggeris ultra' gives us a clue. I take 'beyond the mound' as possibly having been a common phrase in Rome for 'the praetorian camp,' as to us 'over the herring-pond' means America. The map of Rome shows that a man passing the *agger* would probably be bound for the camp.

If '*adsit*' is correct, we find Juvenal in line 26 expanding his thought, as is his custom: he analyses the idea in *adsit* (a friend supporting a man in court) into Pylades, the friend, who *ultra molem aggeris uenit*, i.e. enters the Praetorian camp and court.

Procul and *ab* on either side would well account for the attraction of *ad-* into *absit*. The phrase 'to appear in support of any one *far from* somewhere' is so uncommon that analogous instances do not readily present themselves, by which it might be shewn that *adesse* has a strong enough character to

stand unaffected by such a term as *procul*. However, Val. Max. iv. 2. 7. (Cornelia) 'pertinacissime *absenti adfuit*' shews that such a phrase would be quite possible.

APULEIUS' *Metamorphoses*, ii. 5 (ed. Helm). *Maga primi nominis et omnis carminis sepulchralis magistra creditur.*

Surely *numinis*. To say 'she is *believed* to have a great reputation' is absurd: she either had or had not.

Numen, it is true, is generally used of gods, but 'tribuitur aliquando et hominibus qui *potentiâ*, dignitate, dominatu, deorum quodammodo uim in terris habent' (Facciol. and Forcell., s.v.). Thus it is used not only of the Senate (in Cic. and Livy) but of dead friends or relations: 'per numen Drusillae deierauit,' Suet. *Cal.* 24, and could well be used of the supernatural powers delegated to a witch.

ii. 29. *Iam tumore pectus extolli, iam salubris uena pulsari, iam spiritu corpus impleri.*

The symmetrical arrangement of these clauses is noticeable. Each consists of ablative, nominative and infinitive, in the same order—with the sole exception of *salubris*. '*Vena salubris*' is intelligible, though a very unlikely phrase: (*saluber*, meaning 'in healthy condition,' is usually found only with *corpus*). Much better sense is attained, and the clause made to coincide in form with the other two, by reading *salebris*, i.e. a perceptible beating of the pulse. For such a use cf. Val. Max. ix. 12, ex. 6, 'guttur *salebris* spiritûs prae-grauauit,' and id. vi. 9, ex. 5. The corresponding verb is as common in this sense as the noun is uncommon: e.g. Ov. *M.* x. 289, '*saliunt* temptatae pollice uenae,' and id. *Her.* xx. 139.

x. 2. . . . *filium probe litteratum atque ob id consequenter pietate modestia praecipuum.*

Several scholars have proposed to insert *et* between *pietate* and *modestia*, where it could easily have been lost. Beside this correction, is not *ob id* a marginal explanation of the uncommon *consequenter*, wrongly inserted by some copyist into the text? *Both* phrases cannot stand.

AUGUSTINE, *Confess.* ix. 9. 20 (Teubner). *Socrum etiam suam primo susurris malarum ancillarum aduersus se irritatam sic uicit obsequiis . . . ut illa ultro filio suo medias linguas famularum proderet, quibus inter se et nulum pax domestica turbabatur.*

Medias linguas is ridiculous. Read *maledicas*, i.e. the 'susurri malarum ancillarum' above mentioned.

S. T. COLLINS.

HERMES, PAN, LOGOS.

THE object of this paper is to supplement Dr. Zielinski's admirable articles on *Hermes und die Hermetik* (*Archiv f. Religionswiss.* viii. 321 and ix. 25) (1) by calling attention to a passage in Aristotle where the triad—Hermes, Pan, Logos—appears, and (2) by showing that there is some probability that the passage refers to a lost work of the rhetorician Alkidamas, the pupil of Gorgias.

(1) Aristotle (*Rhet.* ii. 24, 1401a 12) is illustrating verbal fallacies: ἐν δὲ τὸ παρὰ τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν, ὡς τὸ φάναι σπονδαῖον εἶναι μῦν, ἀφ' οὗ γ' ἐστὶν ἡ τιμιωτάτη πασῶν τελετή· τὰ γὰρ μυστήρια πασῶν τιμιωτάτη τελετή. (This illustration is undoubtedly taken from Polykrates' *Encomium of Mice*, which is explicitly referred to later in the same chapter, 1401b 15, οἷον ὃ λέγει Πολυκράτης εἰς τοὺς μῦς κτλ.)

ἢ εἴ τις κύνα ἐγκωμιάζων τὸν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ συμπαραλαμβάνει ἢ τὸν Πᾶνα, ὅτι Πίνδαρος ἔφησεν 'ὦ μάκαρ, ὃν τε Μεγάλας Θεοῦ κύνα παντοδαπὸν καλέουσιν 'Ολύμπιοι.' ἢ ὅτι τὸ μηδένα εἶναι κύνα ἀτιμότερόν ἐστιν,—ὥστε τὸ κύνα δῆλον ὅτι τίμιον.

καὶ τὸ κοινωνικὸν φάναι τὸν Ἑρμῆν εἶναι μάλιστα τῶν θεῶν· μόνος γὰρ καλεῖται κοινὸς Ἑρμῆς.

καὶ τὸ τὸν λόγον εἶναι σπουδαιότατον, ὅτι οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες οὐ χρημάτων ἀλλὰ λόγου εἰσὶν ἄξιοι· τὸ γὰρ λόγου ἄξιον οὐχ ἀπλῶς λέγεται.

It cannot be a mere accident that these three illustrations—Pan, Hermes, Logos—should occur here in succession: they must all be taken from the same work. This work was an *Encomium* of the same type as those of Polykrates and Alkidamas (Blass, *Att. Bereds.* ii. 350 and 370). Aristotle's words ἢ εἴ τις κύνα (not τοὺς κύνας) ἐγκωμιάζων . . . imply that the subject of the *Encomium* was either a dog or a Cynic.

The author—whoever he was—was acquainted with mysticism, and we are justified in seeking a mystical, concealed, significance lying behind these apparent trivialities. Let us take first Pan-κύων.

PAN κύων.

The epithet κύων as applied to Pan was probably interpreted equivocally as ὁ κύων (partic. of κύω)=ὁ τίκτων. (*Etym. Mag.* κύων . . . ἢ παρὰ τὸ κύω. Hesych. κύων· τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μόριον. For κύλλα, the Elean word for σκύλαξ, and Kyllenios, epithet of Hermes, see Kaibel, *Δάκτυλοι Ἰδαῖοι*¹). In the Theban

¹ *Nachrichten k. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 1901, p. 506.

cult, referred to by Pindar in the words which Aristotle quotes, Pan was associated with the Great Mother, as the male with the female principle. As she was Mother of all life, so the Κύων ΠΑΝτοδαπός was Father of all manner of living things.

The pair have an Egyptian parallel in Isis and the Dog Anubis; and as applied to Anubis we find κύων interpreted by 'some' as τίκτων: Plut. *Is. et Os.* 368 F ἐνίοις δὲ δοκεῖ Κρόνος ὁ Ἄνουβις εἶναι διὸ πάντα τίκτων καὶ κύων ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπικλησιν ἔσχευ.

Now Κρόνος ὁ κύων πάντα ἐν ἑαυτῷ = Χρόνος Time, or the revolving year (ἐνιαυτός). This is an Orphic identification: Procl. *in Krat.* 64 ὡς καὶ Ὀρφεὺς τὴν πρώτην πάντων αἰτίαν Χρόνον καλεῖ ὁμωνύμως τῷ Κρόνῳ (Abel, *Orph.* frg. 50). Time is periodic: the year brings forth all things from its womb, and then returns upon itself and engulfs them, as Kronos swallowed his children: Cornutus 6 ὁ Κρόνος λέγεται καταπίνειν τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ῥέας αὐτῷ γινόμενα τέκνα, ἐπειδὴ ὅσα ἂν γίνηται κατὰ τὸν εἰρημένον τῆς κινήσεως λόγον πάλιν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν περιόδῳ ἀφανίζεται καὶ ὁ Χρόνος δὲ τοιούτων τί ἐστι. Procl. *in Krat.* p. 61 Νοῦς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς Κρόνος . . . αὐτὸς εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπεστραμμένος, ὃς γε καὶ τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προκύψαντας εἰς αὐτὸν αἰθεὶς ἐπέστρεψεν καὶ ἐνεκολπίσατο καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ σταθερῶς ἴδρυσεν. *Ibid.* p. 116 (Abel, frg. 101) γεννᾶσθαι μὲν οὖν τὴν πρωτίστην Ἀφροδίτην φασὶν ἀπὸ διττῶν αἰτιῶν . . . τὸν μὲν γὰρ Κρόνον . . . ὡς τὴν γονίμην δύναμιν τοῦ πατρὸς προκαλούμενον . . . τὸν δὲ Οὐρανὸν ὡς ποιητικὸν καὶ αἴτιον . . . ὥς φησιν Ὀρφεύς,

μήδεα¹ ὃ ἐς πέλαγος πέσειν ὑψοθεν, ἀμφὶ δὲ τοῖσι
λευκὸς ἐπιπλάουσιν ἐλίσσετο πάντοθεν ἀφρός
ἐν δὲ περιπλομέναις ὥραις ἐνιαυτὸς ἔτικτε
παρθένον αἰδοῖν . . .

I suspect that this Orphic conception of Χρόνος is alluded to by Sophocles: *Ajax* 646 ἄπανθ' ὁ μακρὸς κἀναρίθμητος χρόνος | φύει τ' ἄδηλα καὶ φανέντα κρύπτεται (note the middle κρύπτεται sc. κρύπτει εἰς αὐτόν).

The derivation of ἐνιαυτός from ἐν ἑαυτῷ is given in Plato's *Kratylus* 410 D, a passage which links those we have quoted with Herakleiteanism and the Logos-doctrine: τὸ γὰρ τὰ φνύμενα καὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα προάγον εἰς φῶς καὶ αὐτὸ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐξετάζον . . . οἱ μὲν ἐνιαυτόν, ὅτι ἐν ἑαυτῷ, οἱ δὲ ἔτος, ὅτι ἐτάζει. This is certainly a reference to the characteristic Herakleitean doctrine that there is one Logos, in the world and in man, and that wisdom is to be found by 'searching in oneself'—ἐδιξήσάμην ἐμεινυτόν (Herakl. frg. 101 Diels). The Reason, Νοῦς or Logos, πάντα κύει ἐν ἑαυτῷ, and the revolving year is a symbol of its movement, which returns upon itself. (Cf. Schultz, *Pythagoras u. Heraklit*, pp. 63 and 114.)

Another passage in Plato's *Kratylus* (396 B) perhaps gives us Herakleitean

¹ Is it possible that the unexplained phrase μηδὲς κύων in the above passage of Aristotle disguised for the initiate Μῆτις κύων = Μῆτις (Μῆτιν σπέρμα φέροντα

θεῶν, Abel, frg. 61) = Μῖτος = σπέρμα (Abel, frg. 253 ? Cf. Kaibel, *op. cit.* p. 515.

authority for the equation $\text{Κρόνος} = \text{Λόγος}$. Κρόνος is derived from κόρος , and Socrates rejects the interpretation $\text{κόρος} = \text{παῖς}$. That this rejected derivation of Κρόνος from κόρος νοῦ ($= \text{παῖς νοῦ}$) is Herakleitean seems probable when we remember that for Herakleitus $\text{Logos} = \text{Αἰών}$ and Αἰὼν Παῖς ἐστὶ (frg. 52 Diels). $\text{Αἰών} = \text{Orphic Χρόνος}$. It is curious that in the only passage in Plato (*Gorg.* 482 B) where Socrates uses the 'oath of Rhadamanthys' in its full form $\mu\acute{\alpha} \tau\omicron\nu \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha \tau\omicron\nu \text{Αἰγύπτιον θεόν}$, the context is markedly Herakleitean, containing in the same sentence allusions to Herakl. frgg. 51 Diels ἀρμονίη τόξου ($\text{βίος} = \text{βίος}$), 54 $\text{ἀρμονίη ἀφανῆς κρείττων}$, and 49 εἰς ἐμοὶ μύριοι .

For Pan and the λόγος σπερματικός of later speculation, see Cornutus 27 and cf. Heinze, *Lehre vom Logos* 321.

Κοινὸς Ἑρμῆς.

With these clues to guide us, we may not be wrong if we attribute to the author of the Encomium a knowledge of the mystical Herakleitean interpretation of the proverbial phrase, κοινὸς Ἑρμῆς , as meaning the κοινὸς (ξυνὸς) λόγος of the master. Cornutus 16 $\text{διὰ δὲ τὸ κοινὸν αὐτὸν (τὸν Ἑρμῆν) εἶναι καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν τε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πᾶσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς, ὁπότεν τις εὖρη τι προάγων ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, συνηθῶς ἐπιφθέγγονται τὸ κοινὸν εἶναι τὸν Ἑρμῆν}$. Procl. *in Remp.* ii. p. 62 (Kroll) $\text{Ἑρμῆς κοινὸς πασῶν ἐστὶ τῶν ὥρων, τὸν ἕνα λόγον ἐν πάσαις πρυτανεύων καὶ τὴν μίαν αὐτῶν κατὰ λόγον τάξιν}$. Suidas s.v. κοινὸς Ἑρμῆς ; $\text{ὅτι τὸν λόγον ἔχων κοινωνικὸν ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐποίησε πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ}$. To the Pythagoreans also the phrase was doubtless significant of their principle that all the discoveries of the School were common property; and it lies behind the Pythagorean conception of education, inherited by Socrates and Plato: Iambl. *vit. Pyth.* 43 $\text{τὴν παιδείαν ἐπιδεικνύων κοινὴν οὖσαν εὐφυΐαν τῶν ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῷ γένει πεπρωτευκότων}$ τὰ γὰρ ἐκείνων $\text{εὐρήματα τοῖς ἄλλοις γεγυῖναι παιδείαν}$. The conception of the common λόγος in all men and in the cosmos justifies the *maieutic* of Socrates (*Μαῖα*, mother of Hermes, $\text{μῶσθαι} = \text{ξήτησις καὶ φιλοσοφία}$ Plato *Krat.* 406 A) and the *dialectical* method of Platonic education. (See especially *Symp.* 206 B ff. and 209 $\text{ἡ ψυχὴ κνεί φρόνησιν κτλ., τόκος ἐν καλῷ etc.}$) Ἑρμῆς κοινωνικός is $\text{ὁ τίκτων λόγους ἐν ἄλλῳ}$ as well as ἐν ἑαυτῷ : *Symp.* 209 $\text{ἀπτόμενος γὰρ οἶμαι τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ ὁμιλῶν αὐτῷ, ἃ πάλαι ἐκύνει, τίκτει καὶ γεννᾷ (γεννᾷ λόγους 210 A), . . . καὶ τὸ γεννηθὲν συνεκτρέφει κοινῇ μετ' ἐκείνου, ὥστε πολὺ μείζω κοινωνίαν τῆς τῶν παίδων πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἴσχωσι καὶ φιλίαν βεβαιωτέραν, ἅτε καλλιώνων καὶ βεβαιωτέρων κεκοινωνηκότες}$.

Λόγου ἄξιοι.

Finally we may compare Aristotle's words $\text{οὐ χρημάτων ἀλλὰ λόγου ἄξιοι}$ with Herakleitus, frg. 90 Diels $\text{πυρός (= λόγου) τε ἀνταμοιβῇ τὰ πάντα καὶ πῦρ ἀπάντων ὅκωσπερ χρυσοῦ χρήματα καὶ χρημάτων χρυσός}$. 'Things' (χρήματα)

are only various equivalents of gold, the one standard of worth; so in the cosmos 'things' are various symbols of the Logos, diverse *ὀνόματα* with one meaning (*λόγος*) or value.

(2) There remains the question: to what author is this Encomium of the Dog (or the Cynic) to be attributed?

I suggest that the author was Alkidamas, and that the work in question was the *ἐγκώμιον Πρώτῳ τοῦ κυνός* mentioned by Menand. π. ἐπιδεικτικῶν ii. 1 (*Rhet. Gr.* iii. p. 346) *παράδοξα δὲ, οἷον Ἀλκιδάμαντος τὸ τοῦ Θανάτου ἐγκώμιον, ἢ τὸ τῆς Πενίας, ἢ τοῦ Πρώτῳ τοῦ κυνός.*

It is true that it has been supposed (Heer. *ad loc.*) that this Proteus is Lucian's *ὁ κακοδαίμων Περεγρίνος*, ἢ, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔχαιρεν ὀνομάζων ἑαυτὸν, *Πρωτεύς* (Luc. *de morte Peregr.* i; A. Gell. xii. 11) and that consequently this encomium is centuries later than the time of Alkidamas. But Peregrinus was not the only philosopher who called himself Proteus: Apollonius of Tyana was also identified with the Egyptian God: Philostr. *vit. Apoll.* i, p. 6, *κυούση δὲ αὐτὸν τῇ μητρὶ φάσμα ἦλθεν Αἰγυπτίου δαίμονος ὁ Πρωτεύς ὁ παρὰ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ ἐξαλλάττων. ἢ δὲ . . . ἤρετο αὐτόν, τί ἀποκνήσοι ὃ δὲ 'ἐμέ' εἶπεν.* It cannot therefore be taken as certain that the subject of the Encomium mentioned by Menander was Peregrinus; and there is no reason against the natural supposition that this Encomium and the *Encomium of Penia*, like the *Encomium of Death*, with which they are coupled, were by Alkidamas. *Πρωτεύς ὁ κύων* may be some early Cynic, otherwise unknown to us.

If this supposition is correct, it is worth while to recall that Proteus (or Prateus) and Dyas in the Pythagorean *ιερός λόγος*=Orphic *Αἰθήρ* and *Χάος*, Abel frg. 52.¹ This pair—the Monad and the Dyad—equated with the *πέρας* and *ἀπειρία* of late Pythagoreanism, are the male and female principles. The Protean monster of the Orphic cosmogony (*παντοδαπαῖς μορφαῖς θηρίων ἰνδαλλόμενος*, Abel frg. 36) is Protogonos and Zeus *πάντων διατάκτωρ καὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου, διὸ καὶ Πᾶνα καλεῖσθαι* (ibid.). It is easy to see how in an Encomium of Proteus the Dog, which was full of mystical allusions, we find Pan, the *κύων παντοδαπός*.

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¹ Cf. frg. 85 *Αἰθήρ μὲν καὶ Χάος* <κατὰ τὸν Ὀρφέα, the names here supplied by Usener, I conjecture *Πρωτεύς δὲ καὶ Χάος*> κατὰ Πυθαγόραν. In place of *Πρατεύς δὲ καὶ Δυνάς*.

VARIA GRAECA.

I. χωρίον, 'PASSAGE.'

Δ 755 κτείνοντές τ' αὐτούς, ἀνά τ' ἔντεα καλὰ λέγοντες.

schol. A intermarg. ἐν ἄλλῳ χῳ λέγοντες.

As the apparent variant is in the text, Ludwich alters the scholion into ἐν ἄλλῳ χῳ[ρίς τοῦ] ᾧ ἐλόντες, which has not been found in any MS. so far. The only noticeable point *prima facie* about λέγοντες is that it (of 1 pers. pl.) is an ἄπαξ λεγόμενον (we have λέγων and λέξοντες). Therefore I would read [οὐκ] ἐν ἄλλῳ χῳ[ρίῳ] λέγοντες. Ludwich's index to his *A.H.T.* gives cases of the omission of οὐ or οὐκ in the scholia. We need not restrict χῳ or χῳ to χωρίς. There is too much tendency to restrict usage in matters of language. At one time it was believed that μήποτε was the property of Didymus! χωρίον 'passage' does not occur (apparently) in the scholia we possess, τόπος however does (Ludwich, Index). Compare the note on H 96

ὦ μοι ἀπειλητῆρες Ἀχαιίδες οὐκέτ' Ἀχαιοί

ἐν ἄλλῳ ὑβρισταί. We must supply in sense χωρίῳ, for the reference is to Callim. *Del.* 69, where this is the meaning of ἀπειλητῆρες.

χωρίον='passage' occurs first in Herodotus ii. 117, where, after citing one passage from the *Iliad* and two from the *Odyssey*, he says, κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἔπεα καὶ τόδε τὸ χωρίον οὐκ ἦκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα δηλοῖ ὅτι οὐκ Ὀμήρου ἐστὶ τὰ Κύπρια. Valckenaer, 'nimis forte suspiciosus,' as he says himself, removed τὸ χωρίον, on the ground that the classical authors did not use the word in this sense. But our opinion should follow the evidence, we must not alter the evidence to suit our opinion. The ancients did not quote with much exactitude, but where they do quote for a purpose, we cannot quarrel with their expressions. Thucydides i. 97 has χωρίον in an allied if not identical metaphorical sense 'this province.' Valckenaer also removed τόπος from the first passage in which it occurs in this sense, Xen. *Mem.* ii. 1. 20, where Xenophon quotes Epicharmus. By the time of the scholia both words were in common use; the lexica give a fair catena from Polybius onwards. (Polybius also appears to contain the first reference to a graphical error, xii. 4 a. 4.) I may add some cases from Galen, whose accuracy in citation inclines him to dwell on 'passages': v. 380 Kühn ἐν βιβλίῳ ἢ χωρίῳ βιβλῶν, 488 ἅπαν τοῦ βιβλίου χωρίον, vii. 308 ἐν οἰκείῳ τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου χωρίῳ, 439 κατ' ἐκεῖνο

μάλιστα τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου τὸ χωρίον, xii. 358 καὶ νῦν καὶ κατ' ἄλλα χωρία τῆσδε τῆς πραγματείας, xiii. 646 ἐγγύς τι τῆς μέσης χώρας τοῦ βιβλίου, xv. 409 οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ ἐξηγηταὶ ἄλλως λαμβάνουσι τὸ χωρίον, xvii. i. 527 κατ' ἐκείνο τοῦ βιβλίου χωρίον, 732 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ τοῦ συγγράμματος, sim. 732 xvii. ii. 450, xviii. ii. 438 κατ' ἐκείνο τὸ μέρος τοῦ βιβλίου. The synonym τόπος is less frequent: vii. 870 ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ αὐτὰ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τόπους αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ κεφάλαια μνηύσομεν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ῥᾶον εὐρίσκειν τὰ βουλόμενα, xiii. 530 κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον τοῦ βιβλίου. Later both words are normal. There seems therefore no reason to deny χωρίον to scholia which were put together at least two or three centuries after Galen's time.¹

II. ἔν τινι, ἔν τισι.

My explanation of ἔν τισιν 'Herodian' as 'Herodian in some passages' in schol. E 118 (*C.Q.* 1908, 216) may be further supported by two passages from Galen: xv. 25 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Σαβῖνος αὐτὸς εὐδηλὸς ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ καταψευδόμενος, οὐχ ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἐσφαλμένος, ἢ πάντως ἂν ὀνομαστὶ προσέγραψε τὸ βιβλίον ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα ἀπεφίητο· νῦν δ' οὕτως ἔγραψεν οὔτε γῆν ὥς ἔν τινι Ξενοφάνη. xvi. 725 τρία δ' ἐστὶν ἃ ἔγραψε συμπτώματα, πρῶτον μὲν κοιλίης περίτασις, ἐφεξῆς δ' αὐτῆς τὸ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ὑγρὰ χαλᾶν, ὅπερ ἔν τισι διαχωρεῖν εἴωθε λέγειν.

III. SURVIVAL IN ANCIENT LITERATURE.

C.Q. 1908, 66 sq. I endeavoured to prove the truth of Proclus' statement, του ἐπικού κύκλου τὰ ποιήματα διασώζεται καὶ σπουδάζεται, by adducing the usage of σώζεσθαι and similar terms in Plutarch, Pausanias and Stephanus of Byzantium, with the object of showing that if Greek historians and antiquaries were accustomed to take account of the survival or loss of a literary work, it was unreasonable to deny the same habit to Proclus, and therefore to question his veracity. I may now reinforce this evidence by the usage of Galen, the most encyclopaedic, scrupulous and critical of men, who devoted no little of his life to the detection of the forgeries and additions which disfigured the Hippocratean copies:

v. 688 τὸ γὰρ σύγγραμμα παρὰ πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις ἐστίν.

vii. 903 τῶν δ' ἔμπροσθεν, ὧν γε καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπομνήματα διασώζεται, πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ μακροὺς λόγους καταγεγραμμένους εὐρεῖν ἐστι.

xi. 221 ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἐσώξετο Ἑρασιστράτου βιβλίον ἀλλ' ἤδη πάντα ἀπολώλει, καθάπερ τὰ Χρυσίππου κινδυνεύει παθεῖν, τοῦτο τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἂν αὐτοῦ . . . ἐπίστευσα.

¹ Ξ 25 λάκε δέ σφι περὶ χροὶ χαλκὸς ἀπειρής.

In the Oxford edition the intermarginal scholion on this line is printed in the footnote, as if partly undecipherable: it runs in the MS. ὅτι ἐνα (ἐνα MS.)

χρόνον σημαίνει· βούλεται δὲ νῦν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐλελήκει, sc. aorist for pluperfect; the same comment expressed by οἱ μὲν ἠλλάχθαι τὸν χρόνον in the longer version.

xii. 446 ἔγραψε γὰρ τέτταρα βιβλία [Crito] κοσμητικῶν, ἃ πάντες ἔχουσιν.

xiii. 642 καὶ Σωρανῶ δὲ τὰ περὶ φαρμάκων γεγραμμένα ἀναγνοὺς ἅπαντα, καὶ Μενεκράτει καὶ Κρίτῳ καὶ Δαμοκράτει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι δόξαν ἴσχουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ γνώσει τῶν φαρμάκων, παρὰ οὐδενὶ τουτὶ τὸ γεγραμμένον ἄρτι φάρμακον εὔρον.

786 πέντε δὲ σώζεται τοῦ Κρίτωνος, ἔξωθεν τῶν κοσμητικῶν.

xv. 23 ἐγχωρεῖ δὲ καὶ γραψάντων αὐτῶν μὴ διασωθῆναι. He then gives a series of reasons accounting for the loss of books, and concludes by asking how is such loss strange ὅπου γε καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εὐρίσκονται τινες εὐδοκίμως ἠγωνισμένοι κωμικοὶ τε καὶ τραγικοὶ ποιηταὶ δράμασιν οὐκέτι διασωζόμενοις.

26 δῆλον δὲ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Μένων ἐκεῖνος ἀναζητήσας ἐπιμελῶς τὰ διασωζόμενα καθ' αὐτὸν ἔτι τῶν παλαιῶν ἰατρῶν βιβλία, τὰς δόξας αὐτῶν ἐκείθεν ἀνελέξατο, τῶν δ' ἤδη διεφθαρμένων παντάπασιν, ἢ σωζόμενων μὲν οὐ θεωρηθέντων δὲ αὐτῶ, τὰς γνώμας οὐκ ἠδύνατο γράφει.

67 ὅπου γὰρ καὶ συγγράμματα πλεῖστα παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐκέτι σώζεται, πολὺ δὴ μᾶλλον οὐδὲ τὰς ἀγοραίους δόξας εἰκὸς ἔστιν αὐτῶν διασώζεσθαι.

705 πρόδηλον οὖν ὡς ἢ οὐ σώζεται τὰ γραφέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βιβλία θεραπευτικὰ τῶν δξέων νοσημάτων . . . ἢ ὅλως οὐκ ἐγράφη.

xvii. 605 τὰ τοῦ Ζεύξιδος ὑπομνήματα μηκέτι σπουδαζόμενα σπανίζει. This is a double parallel.

1006 'Ρούφος δέ φησι Διογένη τὸν Ἀπολλωνιάτην μόνον ἐναντίως ἀποφύνασθαι κατὰ τὸ περὶ φύσεως δεύτερον' ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἐνέτυχον τῷ βιβλίῳ.

xviii. I. 379 ἐτέρωθι διδάσκειν ἐπηγγείλατο, οὐ μὴν διασώζεται γε τοιοῦτον βιβλίον Ἰπποκράτους περὶ ἀδένων οὐλομελῆς, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐμνημόνευσέ τις περὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἰατρῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' οἱ τοὺς πίνακας ποιήσαντες ἴσασι τὸ βιβλίον.

512 πολλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο γράφει ἐπηγγείλοντο μὴ σωζόμενα νῦν, ἃ τάχα μὲν οὐδ' ὅλως ἔγραψεν ἢ οὐκ ἐσώθη, καθάπερ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν παλαιῶν βιβλίων οὐκέτι σώζεται, περὶ ὧν τῆς ἀπωλείας πολλοῖς γέγραπται.

529 σώζεται δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὰ προκείμενα νῦν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ χωρία φλεβῶν καὶ ἀρτηριῶν συγγραφῇ.

xix. 13 διὰ Μαρτιάλιον, οὗ δύο βιβλία διασώζεται τῶν ἀνατομικῶν.

57 καὶ τῶν ἐξηγησαμένων γε τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ γε διδασκάλου Πέλοπος εἴ πού τι καὶ τῶν Νεμισιανοῦ ἔχοιεν, ἔστι δ' ὀλίγα τὰ διασώζόμενα.

No one can disregard these passages; and to refuse to extend their precedent to Proclus, a mystic who had no interest in the survival or loss of the Cycle, is levity, only to be accounted for by the unreal criteria of *Quellenuntersuchung*.

The Christians, at least the Christians of the second century, when they were under the eye of the heathen, may contribute testimony: Justin, ed. Otto,

iii. 54. . . . μὴ ἡμῖν τὰς βίβλους ταύτας ἀλλὰ Ἰουδαίοις προσήκειν, διὰ τὸ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν σὺνέσθαι. Of the Jewish scriptures this statement cannot be impugned. 120 τοῦτον σὺνέσθαι τὸν ὕμνον παρὰ πολλοῖς ὧν ἴσμεν συμβαίνει. The Sibyl, ἥς τὰς βίβλους ἐν πάσῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ σὺνέσθαι συμβαίνει. Clement Alex. has an equivalent, 1105 Migne=184 Sylb. Ἐπιφάνης οὗτος, οὗ καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα κομίζεται. Athenagoras, it must be confessed, exaggerates when he says (17 A Otto) ὁ τύπος ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν Κορίνθῳ σφύζεται of the same statue of which Pliny says (xxxv. 12. 43) '*servatum in Nymphaea donec Corinthum Mummius euerteret tradunt*.'¹ Pliny himself confirms Athenagoras' habit and worse when he says (*N.H.* praef. § 21) *scito enim conferentem auctores me deprehendisse a iuratisimis et proximis ueteres transscriptos ad uerbum neque nominatos*.

T. W. ALLEN.

¹ Porphyrius *uit. Pythagorae*, c. 4 Didot ἄλλοι δ' ἐκ Θεανοῦς τῆς Πυθάνακτος, τὸ γένος Κρήσσης, υἱὸν Τηλανγῆ Πυθαγόρου ἀναγράφουσι καὶ θυγατέρα Μυῖαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ

Ἀριγνώτην, ὧν καὶ συγγράμματα Πυθαγόρεια σφύζεσθαι
The statement goes back to ἄλλοι. .

EMENDATIONS OF THE EPISTLES OF JULIAN.

383 D οὐδὲ ὁ Ῥήνος ἀδικεῖ τοὺς Κελτούς, ὃς τὰ μὲν νόθα τῶν βρεφῶν ὑποβρύχια ταῖς δίναις ποιεῖ.

ποιεῖ Heyler 'e libris suis scripsit pro πέμπει,' says Hertlein. Neither verb looks very satisfactory; Julian probably wrote πνίγει, cf. 446 A, τοῦ Νείλου ταῖς δίναις ἢ ταῖς Εὐφράτου . . . ἐναποπνιγέντα. The Celts tested, or were fabled to test, the legitimacy of children by throwing them into the Rhine; cf. Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, xlvī. 54-62.

401 D μεῖζον γάρ ἐστιν ἢ κατ' ἐπιστολήν . . . ἐπεὶ καὶ φαῖν δέ σοι καὶ ταῦτα φράσω δι' ὀλίγων.

'Desunt quaedam,' says Reiske, and Hertlein suggests ἐπεὶ φαῖν ἂν σοι καὶ ταῦτα φράσω δὲ δι' ὀλίγων. Better I think ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων δέ, on which δι' ὀλίγων may be a gloss, but Julian has a habit of doubling phrases, e.g. τυχὸν ἴσως, οἶονεὶ δίκην, so that he may have written both.

403 B καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ λῆις ἐρίφων καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς χιμαδίοις θήρας τῶν προβατίων.

For λῆις one MS. (V) gives λίς. Read ἄλις. Julian writes from winter quarters in Gaul, where time hung heavy on his hands; his officers indulged in hunting doubtless, which the philosopher contemptuously calls the chase of kids and sheep (V has προβαταγρίων, whence Hertlein conjectures προβάτων τῶν ἀγρίων, but were there any wild sheep in Gaul?). I take the meaning to be: 'I am sick of the hunting of wretched animals, which is all the conversation of the mess-room; do you come and cheer me up'. ἦκε πρὸς τὸν φίλον, he continues.

Cf. Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* vi 13, ἄλις Εὐφράτον καὶ μικροψύχων λόγων.

404 D *Ep.* 33. I give this graceful little letter to Dositheus in full, as it has been utterly ruined by scribes and editors between them. Μικροῦ μοι ἐπῆλθε δακρύσαι (καί τοι γε ἐχρῆν εὐφημεῖν τοῦνομα τὸ σὸν φθεγγόμενον) ἀνεμνήσθην γὰρ τοῦ γενναίου καὶ πάντα θαυμασίου πατρὸς ὑμῶν ὃν εἰ μὲν ξηλώσεις, αὐτός τε εὐδαίμων ἔσῃ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ δώσεις, ὥσπερ ἐκείνος, ἐφ' ὅτῳ φιλοτιμῆσεται, ῥαθυμίας δὲ λυπήσεις ἐμέ, σαυτῷ δὲ ὅτε μηδὲν ὄφελος μέμνη.

I have corrected the punctuation of the opening clauses, taken ὑμῶν for ἡμῶν from Reiske, and emended βίῳ to υἱῷ. Cf. *Ep.* 77, where the solitary MS. has corrupted σέβεσθαι to σεύεσθαι and σεβόμενος to σευόμενος.

416 C εἰ μὲν τι συνῆδεν ἐμαντῆ τοῦ πρὸς σέ γιγνομένου καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐλλιπόντι.

Cf. 418 B, ἐλλιπόντα τι τοῦ πρὸς σέ καθήκοντος, but γιγνομένου cannot mean this. Julian wrote τεινομένου. This use of τείνεσθαι in the middle or passive is first found in Plato, and occurs also in Libanius; cf. too Julian 442 D, ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν ἔρως ἐπὶ σοὶ τέταται.

444 A τούτων δὴ πάντων ὑπερορῶν, ὅτι καὶ τὸν ιδίως . . . ἐπέγνωκας καὶ τὸν κοινῶς καὶ γενικῶς ἄνθρωπον ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν ὀψιμαθῶν ἀγνοούμενον, ἀνθ' ὅτου πρὸς τῶν θεῶν εὐλαβεῖσθαι ἔφησ, μὴ τρίτον προσκρούσης;

I do not know what this as so printed is supposed to mean, but it is easy to put it straight; we only want a comma instead of a colon after ἐπέγνωκας, the words ὅτι το ἀγνοούμενον are parenthetical, the missing word after ιδίως is ἕκαστον (cf. *Ep.* 77, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἑκατέρῳ). ἀνθ' ὅτου in late Greek may be interrogative.

446 C ἦλθες καὶ ἐποίησας, ἦλθες γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀπὸν οἷς γράφεις· ἐγὼ δέ σε μὰ ἔμην ἂν δὲ φύλαξας ἐμὰν φρένα καιομένην πόθῳ.

As Reiske remarks these words seem to be a citation from Sappho, but neither his restoration nor the others quoted by Hertlein make any approximation to being verse. From Wesseling's ἂν (sic) δ' ἔφλεξας I take the correction of φύλαξας, and would write:

ἦλθες — — — ἐγὼ δέ σε μαιόμαν·

ἂν δ' ἔφλεξας ἐμὰν φρένα καιομένην (malim δαιομένην) πόθῳ.

The metre is that of Sappho, fragg. 32-37 (Bergk). To restore καὶ ἐποίησας with any approach to certainty seems hopeless. καί μ' ἐδόνησας is near the letters, but though Sappho says Ἔρος με δόνει she could hardly say σύ με δόνεις. ἦλθες δὴ πάϊς ἦλθες, or a dozen other guesses are obvious enough. A few lines further on the words πρὸς κόρον ἀρκέσαι look like another quotation from the same ode. Cf. 376 D: ἦλθες Τηλέμαχε, φησὶ τὸ ἔπος (*Od.* π 23, ρ 41). ἐγὼ δέ σε καὶ εἶδον ἥδη τοῖς γράμμασι. Theocritus xii. 1, 2.

382 C περιμένειν, read περιμενεῖν. 390 D τὸ <μὲν> μέλι. 396 B ὃ γε μὴν (for μὲν). *ibid.* καὶ <τὴν> δικαστῶν. 397 A στῆναι for στῆσαι. 413 A χρῆ for ἐξῆ: χ was written ξ and ξρῆ emended to ἐξῆ. 414 C Γαλατικούς <τόπους>. (αἰγιάλους in one MS. has got in from 414 D). 433 C ἐκείνων μὲν γοῦν? 435 B καὶ πρᾶγμά γε. 442 B Omit πρὸ ἡμῶν and two lines further on read πρὸ <ἡμᾶν> ἀποφαινομένοις. 445 B ἔμελεν for ἔμελλεν. *Ep.* 74 γράψασιν for δρᾶσασιν?

ARTHUR PLATT.

THE ORIGIN AND FORM OF AEOLIC VERSE.

THE Aeolic dimeter and trimeter constitute so considerable a part of Greek lyric and dramatic poetry that the correct apprehension of their form is a matter of great moment. The Greek metricians comprehended this rightly,¹ in the main, but in the first half of the nineteenth century the doctrine of these learned men was supplanted by a new theory that attempted to apply the principles that underlie modern poetry to the explanation of the undoubtedly complex rhythm of these clauses.² Many scholars persistently maintain this theory. It is not difficult to discover why it was invented (it is absolutely new) and why it remains attractive. That the quantitative rhythms and metres of Greek poetry should seem complicated to men whose language is accentual is inevitable, whereas modern metres and rhythms are notoriously simple. The limitations imposed upon poetic form by accentual speech are extreme. No modern poet, for example, has attempted Ionic or Cretic measures. Again Greek music was simple, and both music and dance were under the control of the singers, but modern music is a complex art, and casts language in an iron mould. Nevertheless musical expression must be the basis of comparison, so far as we allow ourselves to institute it, between ancient and modern rhythms. The attempt to conform Greek lyrics to the elementary—and uncertain—rhythms of modern poetry that is merely read or recited implies a fundamental misconception of relations. Greek lyrics were melic. Agathon, in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, sings as he composes. These Greek songs were never intended to be *read* by anybody, Greek or barbarian.

It is now a commonplace of Comparative Metre that the primitive poetic form in Aryan speech was a dimeter of eight syllables. The language was quantitative, but the order of longs and shorts was not yet regulated (o o o o o o o o). This dimeter is found in the Avesta, where two dimeters, separated by diaeresis, form a tetrameter, and two tetrameters are united in a distich. The first ordering of quantities appears in the Vedas. The seventh, sixth and fifth syllables of the octosyllabic dimeter are respectively short, long, short; the final syllable remains anapest. This gives an iambic metre in the second half (o o o o ~ ~ ~). The

¹In *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xviii. (1907), pp. 1 ff., I have endeavoured to demonstrate that the principles propounded by Heliodorus and Hephaestion suffice for the analysis of the Aeolic lyrics in Greek Comedy. In the present discussion

I shall attempt to prove that this theory of analysis is in accord with the probable origin of Aeolic verse, and I shall draw my illustrations mainly from Sophocles.

²Apel, Böckh, Rossbach-Westphal.

quantities of the first metre of the Vedic dimeter remain practically unregulated, although preferences are manifest.¹

The distich of the Avesta, with its four dimeters arranged pair and pair, is an impressive means of dignified expression, elevated by its form above ordinary prose speech, but it is not rhythmical. Poetic impulse, however, could not long be held in check and the rhythmizing instinct that gave melodic form to the second half of the primitive dimeter in India found early expression also among those other more highly gifted men of Aryan speech who in the third millennium before Christ began to make their way from the north-western regions of the Balkan peninsula into the land which afterwards was to be known as Greece. They also gave rhythmic form first to the close of the primitive dimeter,—the rhythmizing impulse operated backward. Among the ancestors of the Ionian poets this impulse regulated the order of quantities, as in the Vedas, by fixing a long syllable in the even places of the dimeter (sixth, fourth, second), with the gradual evolution through various probable stages of the logaoedic, iambic and trochaic dimeters. Their brothers, who in course of time made their way across seas and settled Aeolis, metrized differently. Their early bards sang to the people in forms that we first meet, at the end of a great period, in the highly developed verse of Alcaeus and Sappho; but long before this these forms, either by inheritance from north-eastern Greece or more probably by happy return across the sea, had been fixed in the popular poetry of Greece, where they had remarkable vogue. Both the comic poets, as we should have expected, and Euripides, as also we should have expected (*Ranae* 1301 ff.), laid these songs of the people composed in Aeolic metre under contribution, as the metrical constitution of certain lyrics in Aristophanes and Euripides proves. But exalted sentiment not less than popular feeling and emotion found adequate expression in Aeolic rhythm and the study of its form and significance is fundamental to the proper appreciation of Pindar, Bacchylides and Sophocles.

The musical number in which the poetic impulse of early Aeolian singers found satisfactory rhythmical expression was the choriamb. This is the fundamental metre (foot) in Aeolic verse. The first half of the primitive dimeter in which it appeared remained with quantities practically unregulated (o o o o — — —) even in the fifth century. The principle that unconsciously prevailed was exclusion in selection. Nine of the sixteen possible forms that the first metre

¹The facts have been ascertained with great patience and are clearly stated. See Hermann Oldenberg, *Die Hymnen des Rigveda*, vol. i., *Metrische und textgeschichtliche Prolegomena* (1888), pp. 1 ff. From a following table (p. 14) it appears that of the sixteen possible forms of the first metre (two units in four places) fifteen occur. The four that predominate are, in the order of preference, — — — —, — — — —, — — — —, — — — — (— — — — is not found). See also E. Vernon Arnold, *Vedic Metre in its Historical Development* (1905), pp. 149 ff. On the metres of the Mahābhārata, see E. Washburn Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India, Its Character and Origin* (1901), pp.

191 ff. The final metre of the śloka is iambic (p. 239). For the Vedic acatalectic and catalectic trimeter of twelve and eleven syllables, ending respectively — — — — and — — — —, see Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 42 ff., Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 175 ff., and (for the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana) Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 273 ff. It is one of the many services rendered to metrical science by Rudolf Westphal that he noted many years ago the Avestan and Vedic dimeters and trimeters and pointed out their significant bearing on Greek metres. See *Zur vergleichenden Metrik der indogermanischen Völker*, Kuhn's Zeitschrift, ix. (1860), pp. 437 ff.

might assume are found in Sophocles and Aristophanes. These are starred in the following list :

1. ———*	5. ———*	9. ———*	13. ———
2. ———	6. ———*	10. ———*	14. ———
3. ———	7. ———*	11. ———*	15. ———
4. ———	8. ———*	12. ———*	16. ———

Besides this polyschematist dimeter (Heph. xvi.) two others often occur in Aeolic verse, the Glyconic, with the quantities in the first two places of the octosyllabic dimeter unregulated (o o — — — —), and a third dimeter with choriamb in the first metre and Glyconic cadence in the second (— — — — — — —).

The genetic connexion and rhythmical relation of these three dimeters to one another is certain, I think, and it may be expressed in simple graphic form :

o o o o — — — —	1
o o — — — —	2
— — — —	3

The rhythmizing impulse pressed steadily towards the choriambization of the primitive dimeter and it operated from the close back to the beginning. In the second stage it resulted in the Glyconic, with final cadence, in the last two syllables, that had been developed in the first stage. In the third stage the first metre became choriambic and the dimeter ended with the double final cadence developed in the two preceding stages. The process was natural and it was unconscious. The assumption that the second dimeter was derived from the first (or the first from the second!) by shift of quantities in the fifth and sixth places from the beginning ("Anaklasis," "Quantitätsverschiebung") postulates a procedure so artificial as to be incredible.

The following are examples of the polyschematist dimeter in Sophocles :

1 ὦ παῖ, παῖ δυστανοτάτας | Ἡλέκτρα ματρός, τίν' αἰὲ (El. 121 f.); 6 οἷ τε μέσσαν Μηλίδα παρ (Tr. 636 f.); 7 οὐτω δὲ τὸν Καδμογενῇ (Tr. 116); 8 εἰπόντος δὲ μὴ φθονερὰν (Ph. 1141); 9 καὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τοῦτο μέλει (Ph. 1121); 10 τοῖος ἀμφὶ νῶτ' ἐτάθη (Ant. 124); 11 τί ρέξοντες ἀλλοκότῳ (Ph. 1191); 12 πόθεν γὰρ ἔσται βιοτά; | τίς ὦδ' ἐν αὔραις τρέφεται (Ph. 1159 f.).

Note the correspondences in strophe and antistrophe in the following :

κοῦποτ' αὔθις· ἀλλὰ μ' ὁ παγ|κοίτας "Αιδας ζῶσαν ἄγει
πετραία βλάστα δάμασεν | καὶ νιν ὄμβροι τακομένα
— — — — — — — — | — — — — — — — — (Ant. 810 f. = 827 f.)

φθογγά του στίβον κατ' ἀνάγ|καν ἔρποντος, οὐδέ με λά|θει
ἀλλ' ἣ που πταίων ὑπ' ἀνάγ|κας βοᾷ τηλωπὸν ἰω|άν
— — — — — — — — | — — — — — — — — (Ph. 206 f. = 215 f.)

ἐκείνος οὔτε στεφάνων=καὶ πρὶν μὲν αἰὲν νυχίου
— — — — — — — — (Aj. 1199 = 1211.)

The form preferred by Sophocles is 1; those next in favour are 8, 9, 12, which occur with about equal frequency.

By catalexis (Heph. 29, 7 ff. c.) the polyschematist dimeter becomes 0 0 0 0 — — — This catalexis appears notably in the Eupolidean, a tetrameter in favour with the comic poets, which consists of an acatalectic and a catalectic polyschematist dimeter.¹ Compare:

ὦ θεώμενοι κατερῶ | πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλευθέρως
τὰ ληθῆ νῆ τὸν Δίονυ|σον τὸν ἐκθρέψαντά με. Arist. *Nubes*, 518 f.
— — — — — | — — — — — v

Sophocles abounds in the Glyconic, with the familiar Pherecratean as its catalectic form. Compare, e.g., *O.C.* 668–680 = 681–693, *O.T.* 1186–1195 = 1196–1203, and the following, in which the correspondences are noteworthy.

Phil. 1123–1129 = 1146–1152.

οἱμοι μοι, καί που πολιᾶς	— — — — — — — — —
πόντου θινὸς ἐφήμενος	— — — — — — — — —
γελᾶ μου χερὶ πάλλων	— — — — — — — — —
τὰν ἐμὰν μελέου τροφάν, ²	— — — — — — — — —
τὰν οὐδείς ποτ' ἐβάστασεν.	— — — — — — — — — v
ὦ τόξον φίλον, ὦ φίλων	— — — — — — — — —
χειρῶν ἐκβεβιασμένον	— — — — — — — — — v

In the sixth colon (antistrophe) the Glyconic has spondaic (retarded) close. This metrical variation occurs in Sophocles and Euripides.

The first two syllables of the Glyconic assume, in this passage, three of the four possible forms. Sophocles prefers spondaic opening; the two other openings (— — and — —) occur with about equal frequency. The fourth (— —) is not found in Sophocles, but occurs in the melic poets and elsewhere.

For the third form of the dimeter (— — — — — — — —) compare:

πῶς ποτε πῶς ποτ' ἀμφιπλάκτων ροθίων μονὸς κλύων, | πῶς ἄρα πανδάκρυτον οὐ-
τω βιοτὰν κατέσχεν (*Phil.* 688–690).

In the following the first and third dimeters are pleasingly varied in the two verses:

οὕτω δὲ τὸν Καδμογενῆ	— — — — — — — — —
στρέφει, τὸ δ' αὔξει βιότου	— — — — — — — — —
πολύπονον ὥσπερ πέλαγος	— — — — — — — — —
Κρήσιον. ἀλλὰ τις θεῶν	— — — — — — — — —
αἰὲν ἀναμπλάκητον Ἄι-	— — — — — — — — —
δα σφε δόμων ἐρύκει (<i>Trach.</i> 116–121 = 126–131)	— — — — — — — — —

For Aeolic dimeters of 'iambic' and 'trochaic' form, see p. 296 f.

¹ See *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xviii. (1907), p. 26, where I have analysed the 45 verses of the parabasis of the *Nubes*. The first metre of

the polyschematist dimeter here assumes six different tetrasyllabic forms, 1, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11 above.

² 1149 φνυγᾶ μ' οὐκέτ' ἀπ' αὐλίων | πελᾶτ'.

The prevalence and importance of the polyschematist dimeter in the verse of Sophocles is not to be questioned. *Not less certain is the polyschematist trimeter.* This fact is established by the examples that follow, chosen from among many that occur in Sophocles.

I. Polyschematist Trimeters

προὔχει καὶ γνώμα, παρ' ὅτ' τὸ θεῖον (<i>Ph.</i> 139)	1 — — — — — — — — — —
ἄλ σος, ἔμπας ξυμάρτυρας ὕμ' ἐπικτῶμαι (<i>Ant.</i> 846)	5 — — — — — — — — — —
ἐμ βατεύει θεαῖς ἀμφιπόλων τιθήναις (<i>O.C.</i> 680)	5 — — — — — — — — — —
κεῖνος ἀνὴρ, ὅς στυγερώων ἔδειξεν ὄ πλων (<i>Aj.</i> 1194)	6 — — — — — — — — — —
νεῶν αἴσσουσαν γάμων, τὰ μὲν αὐτὰ (<i>Tr.</i> 845 f.)	6 — — — — — — — — — —
θυμοῦ τ' Ἀτρείδαις μεγάλων τε νεικέων (<i>Aj.</i> 718)	7 — — — — — — — — — —
φοιτᾶς ὑπερπόντιος ἔν τ' ἀγρονόμοις (<i>Ant.</i> 785)	7 — — — — — — — — — —
οἶαν ἐδήλωσας ἀνέρος αἴθονος (<i>Aj.</i> 221)	7 — — — — — — — — — —
ἦ που παλαιᾷ μὲν σύντροφος ἀμέρα (<i>Aj.</i> 622 ff.)	7 — — — — — — — — — —
ἔνθ' οἶμαι τὸν ἐγρεμάχαν Θησέα καὶ (<i>O.C.</i> 1054)	8 — — — — — — — — — —
λή ξι πολυπλάγκτων ἐτέων ἀριθμός (<i>Aj.</i> 1186)	9 — — — — — — — — — —
φύξιμος οὐδείς οὔθ' ἀμερίων σέ γ' (<i>Ant.</i> 787)	9 — — — — — — — — — —
τὰν ἄπανστον αἰὲν ἐμοὶ δορυσσοή των (<i>Aj.</i> 1187)	10 — — — — — — — — — —
αὐ τογέννητ' ἐμῷ πατρὶ δυσμόρου μάτρος (<i>Ant.</i> 865)	11 — — — — — — — — — —
ὑπὲρ κλιτὺν ἦ στονόεντα πορθμόν (<i>Ant.</i> 1145)	11 — — — — — — — — — —
ἐμοὶ ξυνείη διὰ παντὸς εὐφρων (<i>Aj.</i> 705)	12 — — — — — — — — — —
ἐγὼ δ' ὁ τλάμων παλαιὸς ἀφ' οὗ χρόνος (<i>Aj.</i> 599 f.)	12 — — — — — — — — — —
ὃν ἐξεπέμψω πρὶν δὴ ποτε θουρίφ (<i>Aj.</i> 612 f.)	12 — — — — — — — — — —
ἄναξ Ἀπόλλων ὁ Δάλιος εὐγνωστος (<i>Aj.</i> 704)	12 — — — — — — — — — —

II. The following trimeters begin with Glyconic movement (o o — — — —):

δοῦποι καὶ πολιᾶς ἄμυγμα χαίτας (<i>Aj.</i> 633)	— — — — — — — — — —
οὐ φορβὰν ἱερᾶς γᾶς σπόρον, οὐκ ἄλλων (<i>Ph.</i> 706 f.)	— — — — — — — — — —
οὐδ' οἰκτρᾶς γόνον ὄρνιθος ἀηδοῦς (<i>Aj.</i> 629)	— — — — — — — — — —
ἄχ νας ὁ καλλίβοτρυς κατ' ἡμαρ αἰὲν (<i>O.C.</i> 682)	— — — — — — — — — —
ἔχειν μυρίον ἄχθος ὃ ξυνοικεῖ (<i>Ph.</i> 1168)	— — — — — — — — — —

III. Cf. also the following trimeter with the opening movement of the third form of dimeter (p. 293):

ἀγγελίαν ἄτλατον οὐδὲ φευκτάν (<i>Aj.</i> 223)	— — — — — — — — — —
---	---------------------

The Aeolic trimeter originated under the same choriambizing impulse that produced the dimeter, and the possible forms of the trimeter, like those of the dimeter (p. 293), may be exhibited simply:

i	ii	iii	
. . . .		— — — —	1
	— —	— —	2
o o o o	— — — —		3
o o — —	— —		4
— — — —			5

The law by which the different forms of the trimeter are controlled is simple and it operates with singular precision: *Formation regresses by dissyllables, and a metre may consist only of such elements as have already been developed.* The third metre of the trimeter, therefore, will be either — — — (by catalexis — — —) or — — — — (by catalexis — — —). The second metre, in the third stage, must be — — — — or — — — —; in the fourth and fifth it may be also — — — — or — — — —. The first metre in the third stage is polyschematist, in the fourth it has Glyconic form, in the fifth it is the choriamb. These facts are illustrated in the examples just quoted (I-III). The variations that are allowed have already appeared in the dimeter. The trimeter, namely, may likewise have retarded close (p. 294) and if it ends with Glyconic form, its second metre may begin not only with — — and — —, but also with — — (p. 294).

Some of these trimeters have the familiar ring of well-known verses in the melic poets:

χαῖρε Κυλλάνας ὃ μέδεις, σὲ γάρ μοι (Alcaeus 5) ¹	— — — — —
οὐδ' ἀργυρῇ κόκοτ' ἔλαμπε πειθῶ (Anac. 33)	— — — — —
δακρυόεσσάν τ' ἐφίλησεν αἶχμήν (Anac. 31)	— — — — —
ἀσήμενον ὑπὲρ ἐρμάτων φορεῦμαι (Anac. 38) ²	— — — — —
κόλπῳ σ' ἐδέξανθ' ἀγναὶ Χάριτες Κρόνῳ (Alcaeus 62) ³	— — — — —
ἦλθες ἐκ περάτων γᾶς, ἐλεφαντίναν (Alcaeus 33) ⁴	— — — — —
ὁ Μοισαγέτας με καλεῖ χορεῦσαι (Pind. frg. 116) ⁵	— — — — —

Compare the combination of dimeters and trimeters⁶ in the eighth Isthmian Ode of Pindar (verses 1-4):

Κλεάνδρῳ τις ἀλικία	— — — — —
τε λύτρον εὐδοξόν, ὃ νέοι, καμάτων	— — — — — v
πατρὸς ἀγλαὸν Τελεσάρ-	— — — — —
χου παρὰ πρόθυρον ἰὼν ἀνεγειρέτω	— — — — — H
κῶμον, Ἰσθμιάδος τε νί-	— — — — —
κας ἄποινα, καὶ Νεμέα	— — — — — H
ἀέθλων ὅτι κράτος ἐξ-	— — — — —
εὔρε, τῷ καὶ ἐγώ, καίπερ ἀχνύμενος	— — — — —
θυμόν, αἰτέομαι χρυσέαν καλέσαι	— — — — —

Besides the dimeters and trimeters already recorded, two other forms of colon occur in Aeolic lyrics that in appearance are respectively iambic and trochaic. Compare the following acatalectic 'iambic' tetrameter in an Aeolic kommos of the *Antigone* (848 f.):

πρὸς ἔργμα τυμβόχωστον ἐρ|χομαι τάφου ποταμίου
— — — — — | — — — — —

¹ Sapphic hendecasyllable, Heph. 43, 11 f. c.

² Phalaecean, Heph. 32, 21 f. c.

³ 'Alcaic dodecasyllable,' Heph. 33, 12 f. c.

⁴ Asclepiadean, Heph. 33, 5 f. c.

⁵ Pindaric hendecasyllable, Heph. 44, 12 f. c.

⁶ These are true trimeters, and the analysis of the first pentameter into two dimeters connected by a single metre (von Wilamowitz, *Choriambische Dimeter*

in *Sitzungsberichte d. preussischen Akademie*, xxxviii. 1902, p. 889) is inadmissible. The initial metre of the trimeter in this first pentameter is polyschematist. Its prevailing form in the seven strophes is — — — — — (once, in the sixth strophe, with the second long resolved — — — — —), but the variant — — — — — occurs twice (in the third and fifth strophes).

τοῦ δέοντος· ὁ δ' ἐπίκουρος ἰσοτέλεστος,
 Ἄϊδος ὅτε μοῖρ' ἀννυμέναιος
 ἄλυρος ἄχορος ἀναπέφνηε,
 θάνατος ἐς τελευτάν (*O.C.* 1220 ff.)

— — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —

This evidence of crossing of styles is interesting and instructive, for it points the way to the differentiation of Aeolic and Ionian verse. This subject is too large to be treated here, but the main facts may be briefly stated. The choriamb is alien to the rhythm of Ionian verse, and, when it occurs there, it is due (except in the prosodiac and enoplious) to interior anaclassis, as in iambic verse in English. It may thus occur in Greek, as has often been noted, at the beginning even of a spoken trimeter (*Aesch. Sept.* 488, 547, *Choeph.* 1049; *Soph. frg.* 785; *Arist. Pax* 663). On the other hand, a succession of two or more dactyls or anapaests is clear indication of Ionian rhythm, just as conversely the single occurrence of a long and two shorts, or of two shorts and a long, generally signifies that the verse is Aeolic. Hybrid cola (such as — — — — —!) are inadmissible, but a series of Aeolic verses is sometimes effectively interrupted by the introduction of one or more cola completely in Ionian metre, as in Sophocles by acatalectic anapaestic or dactylic dimeters or the paroemiac (*O.T.* 469 f., *Pz.* 1130, 1135). Logaoedic cola also occur (compare the Alcaic dimeter in *O.C.* 1213 f., *φυλάσ|σων ἐν ἐμοὶ κατὰδ' ἄλλος ἔσται*, within a series of Glyconics) and occasionally enoplic series (*Tr.* 112–115).

The effect of the interrelation of Aeolic and Ionian verse in the fifth century is still further manifest. Aeolic verse counted syllables; a dimeter was octosyllabic, a trimeter dodecasyllabic. But the poets of the fifth century, under the influence of Ionian rhythm, admitted resolution in Aeolic cola generally with some freedom, not only in those that in form were identical with the normal iambic and trochaic cola of Ionian verse, but also in the polyschematist dimeter and the Glyconic and the corresponding trimeters. Compare the following in Sophocles:

πολύπονον ὥσπερ πέλαγος (*Tr.* 118) — — — — —
 φυγάδα πρόδρομον ὀξυτέρῳ (*Ant.* 108) — — — — —
 προσέβαλεν· τὰ δ' ἀπ' ἀλλόθρου (*Tr.* 846) — — — — —
 τέτροφεν ἄφιλον ἀποστνυγείν (*O.C.* 186) — — — — —
 κακὰν ἐλπίδ' ἔχων ἔτι με (*Aj.* 606) — — — — —
 πάρεδρος ἐν ἀρχαῖς θεσμῶν ἄμαχος γὰρ¹ (*Ant.* 797 f.) — — — — —
 ποῦ ποτε κεραυνοὶ Διός, ἣ ποῦ φαέθων (*El.* 823 f.) — — — — —

With these compare the strophe in the second Ode of Bacchylides (1–5).

Ἄϊξεν ἅ σεμνοδότεια Φήμα — — — — —
 ἐς Κέον ἱεράν, χαριτώ — — — — —
 νυμον φέρουσ' ἀγγελίαν, — — — — —
 ὅτι μάχας θρασύχειρος Ἄρ- — — — — —
 γείος ἄρατο νίκαν — — — — —

¹ Cf. in the strophe (787 f.) *φύξιμος οὐδὲις οὐθ' ἀμερῶν σε γ'* — — — — —

Compare also the strophe in the eleventh Pythian Ode of Pindar (1-5):

Κάδομονι κόραι, Σεμέλα	— — — — —	— — — — —	
μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀγνιάτις,	— — — — —	— — — — —	— — — — — VH
Ἵνώ δὲ Λευκοθέα	— — — — —	— — — — —	
ποντιᾶν ὁμοθάλαμε Νηρηΐδων,	— — — — —	— — — — —	— — — — — VH
ἔτε σὺν Ἡρακλέος ἀριστογόνῳ	— — — — —	— — — — —	— — — — — V
ματρὶ παρ Μελίαν χρυσέων	— — — — —	— — — — —	
ἐς αὐτον τριπόδων	— — — — —	— — — — —	H
θησαυρόν, ὃν περίαλλ'	— — — — —	— — — — —	
ἐτίμασε Δοξίας	— — — — —	— — — — —	VH

This ode fittingly introduces the discussion of two important topics, catalexis and acephalization in Aeolic verse.

The catalectic close of the polyschematist dimeter is — ◡ — (p. 294), of the Glyconic (p. 294) and of the dimeter that begins with choriamb and ends with glyconic close (p. 294) it is ◡ — —. But it appears from the ode just quoted that the final metre of an Aeolic dimeter or trimeter ending a verse may be reduced by catalexis to two syllables (◡ — or — —). Pindar occasionally thus closes a verse with doubly abraded Glyconic, as in the seventh colon of the strophe just quoted. Compare:

σὲ δ' ὦ Δεινομένειε παῖ, | Ζεφυρία πρὸ δόμων
 ~~~~~ ~~~~ | ~~~~ ~~~~ ~~~~<sup>v</sup> (*Pyth.* ii. 18)

ὁ Βάττου δ' ἔπεται παλαιὸς ὄλβος ἔμ|παν τὰ καὶ τὰ νέμων  
 ~~~~~ ~~~~~ ~~~~~|~~~~~ ~~~~~ (Pyth. v. 55)

ἄριστος εὐφροσύνα | πόνων κεκριμένων
 — — — — — | — — — — — — — — — — (Nem. iv. 1)

But the use of the corresponding clause of the third form of Aeolic dimeter (p. 293), namely — — — — — — — —, as a colon at the close of a verse cannot be established, and its use independently as a verse is extremely doubtful. This closing cadence, however, was not avoided in the polyschematist trimeter. Compare the first four of the trimeters that follow:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| Ἄρχεστράτου παῖδα, πόθι φρενός (<i>Ol.</i> x. 2) | = | — | — | — | — | — | vH |
| αἰῶνος ἀκρὰν βαθμίδων ἄπο | — | — | — | — | — | — | vH |
| σὺν εὐδοξίᾳ μετανίσσει (<i>Pyth.</i> v. 7, 8) | — | — | — | — | — | — | vH |
| σέ δ' ὦ τέκνον, τόδ' ἐλήλυθεν (<i>Ph.</i> 141) | — | — | — | — | — | — | |
| τάκεις ὧδ' ἀκόρεστον οἴμωγάν (<i>El.</i> 123) | — | — | — | — | — | — | v |
| τί τοῦτ' ἔλεξας;—εἰ σὺ τὰν ἐμοὶ (<i>Ph.</i> 1173 f.) | — | — | — | — | — | — | |
| ἐν μελέταις τ' αἰείδων ἔμολον (<i>Ol.</i> xiv. 18) | — | — | — | — | — | — | v |
| ὦ πόλις ὦ πόλις πατρίᾳ (<i>Ph.</i> 1213) | — | — | — | — | — | — | |

The trimeter that opens with Glyconic movement, the lesser Asclepiadean included, suffers similar acephalization. Compare:

τότ' ἦν χερρός, ἦν δὲ τόξων πάταγος (*Tr.* 517 f.) — — — — —
 τό τοι πολὺ καὶ μηδαμὰ λῆγον=
 ὅμοι, θάνατος μὲν τάδ' ἀκούειν (*O.C.* 517=529) — — — — —

The polyschematist dimeter suffers acephalization in the same manner as the Glyconic. By the acephalization of metres 1 or 5 (p. 293) the dimeter becomes — — — — —, as βάλλει βάλλει μ' ἐτύμα (*Ph.* 205); of 6, — — — — —, as ἄρωγὰν ἐκτέταται (*Ph.* 857 f.); of 8 or 11, — — — — —, as ἀκτὰ πολυστάφυλος (*Ant.* 1133); of 10, — — — — —, as ὑπερτάταν πολέων (*Ant.* 1138). Compare in the eighth Pythian Ode of Pindar (15-17):

βία δὲ καὶ μεγάλην|χον ἔσφαλεν ἐν χρόνῳ.
 Τυφῶς Κίλιξ ἐκατόγ|κρανος οὔ νιν ἄλυξεν,
 οὐδὲ μὰν βασιλεὺς Γιγάν|των δμᾶθεν δὲ κεραυνῷ

— — — — — | — — — — —
 — — — — — | — — — — —
 — — — — — | — — — — —

Compare also the examples quoted on p. 299.

The polyschematist trimeter suffers acephalization in the same manner, the first metre becoming — — — — — or — — — — — or — — — — — or — — — — —. Compare:

τᾶς δειλαίας ἀπόρου φανείσας=
 κακᾶ μ' εὐνᾶ πόλις οὐδὲν ἴδριν (*O.C.* 513=525) — — — — —
 λεύσσω δ' ὅπου γνοίη στατὸν εἰς ὕδωρ (*Ph.* 716) — — — — —
 σὲ δ', ὦ τέκνον, τόδ' ἐλήλυθεν (*Ph.* 141) — — — — —

By the same process and with the same purpose, the first metre of the Glyconic and Pherecratean and of the corresponding trimeters may be reduced to two syllables. Compare the second (acephalous Telesilleum) and seventh (acephalous Reizianum=Adonius) in the following:

Antigone 806-816=823-833.

ὀράτ' ἔμ', ὦ γᾶς πατρίας πολῖται, — — — — —
 τὰν νεάταν ὁδὸν — — — — —
 στείχουσιν, νέατον δὲ φέγ- — — — — —
 γος λεύσσουσαν ἀελίου, — — — — —
 κοῦποτ' αἰθις ἀλλά μ' ὁ παγ- — — — — —
 κοίτας Ἄιδας ξῶσαν ἄγει — — — — —
 τὰν Ἀχέροντος¹ — — — — —
 ἀκτάν, οὔθ' ὑμεναίων — — — — —
 ἔγκληρον, οὔτ' ἐπινύμ- — — — — —
 φειός πῶ μέ τις ὕμνος — — — — —
 ὕμνησεν, ἀλλ' Ἀχέροντι νυμφεύσω — — — — —

¹The famous Sapphic strophe consists of three catalectic polyschematist trimeters and the Adonius,

as here the Adonius follows two tetrameters.

Compare also the final colon in the following:

Oedipus Coloneus 1050-1058=1065-1073.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------|
| οὐ πότνια σεμνὰ τιθη- | ≡ — — — — — |
| νούνται τέλη θνατοῖσιν, ὧν καὶ χρυσέα | — — — — — — — — — |
| κλῆς ἐπὶ γλώσσα βέβακε | — — — — — — — — |
| προσπόλων Εὐμολπιδᾶν | — — — — — — — |
| ἔνθ' οἶμαι τὸν ἐγρεμάχαν Θησέα καὶ | — — — — — — — — — |
| τὰς διστόλους ἀδμητας ἀδελφὰς αὐ- | — — — — — — — — — |
| τάρκει τάχ' ἐμμεΐξειν βοᾷ | — — — — — — — |
| τούσδ' ἀνὰ χώρους | — — — — — |

Here the final colon reads in the antistrophe 'Ρέας φίλον υἱόν, where 'Ρέας may be dissyllabic (— — — — —).

For the Glyconic trimeter with double acephalization compare the ninth colon in the following:

Ajax 693-705=706-718.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------|
| ἔφριξ' ἔρωτι, περιχαρὴς δ' ἀνεπτάμαν. | — — — — — — — — — |
| ἰὼ ἰὼ Πᾶν Πᾶν, | — — — — — — — |
| ὦ Πᾶν Πᾶν ἀλίπλαγκτε, Κυλ- | — — — — — — — — — |
| λανίας χιονοκτύπου | — — — — — — — — |
| πετραίας ἀπὸ δειράδος φάνηθ', ὦ | — — — — — — — — — |
| θεῶν χοροποι' ἀναξ', ὅπως | — — — — — — — — — |
| μοι Νύσια Κνώσι' ὀρ- | — — — — — — — — |
| χήματ' αὐτοδαῇ ξυνὸν ἰάλῃς. | — — — — — — — — — |
| νῦν γὰρ ἐμοὶ μέλει χορεῦσαι. | — — — — — — — — — v |
| Ἰκαρίων δ' ὑπὲρ πελαγέων μολῶν | — — — — — — — — — |
| ἄναξ Ἀπόλλων ὁ Δάλιος εὖγνωστος | — — — — — — — — — v |
| ἐμοὶ ξυνείη διὰ παντὸς εὐφρων. | — — — — — — — — — |

The polyschematist dimeter also suffers double acephalization. Compare the sixth colon in the following:

Ajax 622-633=634-645.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------|
| ἦ πον παλαιᾷ μὲν σύντροφος ἀμέρᾳ, | — — — — — — — — — |
| λευκῷ δὲ γήρᾳ μάτηρ νιν ὅταν νοσοῦν- | ≡ — — — — — — — — — |
| τα φρενομόρως ἀκούσῃ, | — — — — — — — — — H |
| αἴλινον αἴλινον, | — — — — — — — — — v |
| οὐδ' οἰκτρᾶς γόον ὄρνιθος ἀηδοῦς | — — — — — — — — — H |
| ἦσει δύσμορος, ἀλλ' | — — — — — — — — — |
| ὀξύτόνους μὲν ῥοδὰς | — — — — — — — — — |
| θρηνήσει, χερόπλακτοι δ' | — — — — — — — — — |
| ἐν στέρνοισι πεσοῦνται | — — — — — — — — — |
| δοῦποι καὶ πολιᾶς ἄμυγμα χαίτας. | — — — — — — — — — vH |

Compare also the third colon in the following:

Antigone 134-140 = 148-154.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| ἀντιτύπα δ' ἐπὶ γὰ πέσε τανταλωθεῖς | — — — — — — — — — — |
| πυρφόρος, ὃς τότε μαινομένα ξὺν ὀρμῇ | — — — — — — — — — — ^h |
| βακχεύων ἐπέπνει | — — — — — — — — — — |
| ῥιπαῖς ἐχθίστων ἀνέμων. | — — — — — — — — — — |
| εἶχε δ' ἄλλα τὰ μέν, ¹ | — — — — — — — — — — ^v |
| ἄλλα δ' ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἐπενώ- | — — — — — — — — — — |
| μα στυφελίσζων μέγας Ἄρης | — — — — — — — — — — |
| δεξιόσπειρος. | — — — — — — — — — — |

For $\asymp$ — — — — in Euripides, see von Wilamowitz, *Choriambische Dimeter*, pp. 870, 875.

We must infer, I think, from these facts that *the smallest unit of rhythmical measurement in Aeolic verse is the dimeter*, the πούς of Aristophanes (*Ran.* 1323) and the Greek rhythmicians.² Analysis must proceed, in Aeolic as also in Ionian verse, not from the single foot of the metricians, not even from the metre (syzygy), but from the dimeter and trimeter. These were the bases of musical phrasing. The dimeter might be reduced, as we have seen, by catalexis and acephalization from eight syllables to seven, to six, and even to five, but it was still a dimeter. Dimeters and trimeters were combined by synaphea into verses, with the acephalous cola at the beginning and the catalectic at the close. Lengthening of a long syllable within a verse (τονή, protraction) was not common in Aeolic measures,³ as it was in certain forms of Ionian rhythm. The pauses at the beginning and close of the verse rested the voice of the singers, but the musical accompaniment and the orchestric movement, if the song was accompanied by a dance, were continuous for the full time. The odes of Pindar prove incontestably that these verses (periods) might be very long.⁴ Whether the poet, in setting his song to music, may not at times have reduced the pause at the end of the verse by half a metre, so that, for example, a catalectic tetrameter became a 'heptapody' is indeterminable. Proof is absolutely lacking that he always did this, when the verse admitted it. It is equally indeterminable whether he may not also in cases where he desired to quicken the movement have carried a single 'hypercatalectic' syllable at the close of a verse over into the first metre of the following verse when this was trisyllabic, as in *Antigone* 781 f. (p. 300). It is these and similar metrical uncertainties that in the strophic analysis of

¹ Acephalization, in the first metre, of 7 or 12 (p. 293) and choriambic catalexis (p. 294).

² See von Wilamowitz's discussion of the 'primitive dimeter' in his *Choriambische Dimeter*, pp. 885 f.

³ For examples of τονή (indicated by a dot) in verses

already cited in this discussion see pp. 297 f. ('iambic' and 'trochaic' cola), 299, 302.

⁴ Cf. Alcaeus, frg. 15 (κατὰ στίχον), and the fondness of the lyric poets for the greater Asclepiadean.

all save some simple songs now perplex the attempt to determine periodic correspondences.¹

In metrical analysis, therefore, hexasyllabic clauses of the form $\equiv \equiv \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$ or $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$ are to be reckoned as dimeters equally with those reduced to seven syllables by catalexis ($\equiv \equiv \text{---} \text{---}$ and $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$) or acephalization ($\equiv \equiv \text{---} \text{---}$ and $\equiv \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$). Their metrical relations and, subordinately, their rhetorical connexion determine whether they are to be accounted catalectic ($\equiv \equiv \text{---} \text{---}$ and $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$) or acephalous ($\equiv \text{---} \text{---}$ and $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$).

Both the origin of Aeolic verse (p. 292) and the results yielded by its analysis discredit the statement that these hexasyllabic phrases were independent units of measurement complete in themselves. But the question demands careful consideration, since the allegation that they were complete cola, each of the value of only a metre and a half ('three theses'), fundamentally affects the analysis of many Greek lyrics, and since to refuse to acknowledge them involves the large acceptance of a metre in Aeolic verse of the form $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$. One shrinks even from naming the 'antispast,' into such evil repute has it fallen since Hermann, nearly a hundred years ago, made his famous assault upon it,—but it is found in good company!

The Greek lyric and dramatic poets seem to have been singularly inclined to the rhythm that appears in the Asclepiadeans. How did they regard it? What did they feel to be the rhythmical force, for example, of the lesser Asclepiadean, of which the metrical form is $\circ \circ \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$? Von Wilamowitz states that the antispast is not a 'foot' in the sense that it served, like other metres, for verse-building.³ This surely is begging the question and settling by dictum the very matter under consideration. An objector might maintain just the contrary with equal positiveness and support his position by the following evidence.

¹ Theory after theory as to the periodic relation of the parts of the strophe to one another has been advanced only to be abandoned. See, for example, Westphal's recantation of his doctrine of eurhythm in his *Griechische Metrik*² (1868), pp. xvii ff. Metric is inadequate to deal finally with this problem; the music to which these strophes were set would alone suffice, by plainly revealing equations and variations in the melody, to determine the poet's complete, detailed intention as to metrical structure. See the emphatic statement of Hugo Gleditsch in his *Metrik*³ (*Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ii. 3), 1901, p. 103. Most hazardous of all is the attempt to conform all Greek lyrics uniformly to the simple model exhibited in Alcman's Partheneum, "Stollen, Gegenstollen, Abgesang" (*a a b*). That the Greek dramatic poets, in particular, who display at times such varied power of invention in the structure of the parodos and stasimon as a whole, should never have advanced beyond this simple primitive stage (*a a b*) in the structure of the single strophe is in itself highly

improbable, and the attempt to reduce all the strophes of tragedy to this simple type often compels resort to extremely arbitrary and fantastic devices. Otto Schröder, however, has reverted to this abandoned theory and would force it rigidly on all Greek lyrics. See his *Cantica* of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Aristophanes (with Euripides promised) and in particular his discussion of "Binnenresponsion" in *Vorarbeiten zur Griechischen Versgeschichte* (1908), pp. 136 ff. (= *Neue Jahrbücher f. d. klassische Altertum*, xv., 1905, pp. 93 ff.), and the summary tables of analyses of the structure of the Odes of Pindar and Bacchylides in *Vorarbeiten*, pp. 105 f. and 119 f.

² If indeed the use of this clause can be established. See p. 299.

³ "Dass das kein Fuss in dem Sinne gewesen ist, wie Iambus, Trochäus und alle die, welche durch ihre Wiederholung Verse bilden, können auch seine Verehrer nicht leugnen, deren es zur Zeit wieder giebt" (*Choriambische Dimeter*, p. 888).

τὸ μέν τις οὐ νεαρὸς οὐδὲ γήρᾳ
 συνναίων ἀλιώσει χερὶ πέρσας· ὁ | γὰρ εἰς αἰὲν ὄρων κύκλος
 λεύσσει νιν Μορίου Διὸς | χά γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνα.

≡ — — — . — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

One reared in the school of Hermann, with proper contempt for the antispast,¹ may well be appalled at its apparent abundant manifestation in the preceding lyrics—*ιοὺ ιοὺ τῶν κοψίχων!* Nevertheless these are good Greek verses, and the question of their rhythm is not to be dismissed lightly. I revert to the theory of the origin of Aeolic verse already presented in this discussion. The same choriambizing impulse that produced the Glyconic dimeter (≡ — — — — —) in the second stage (p. 295) gave the 'Glyconic trimeter' (≡ — — — — — — — — — —) in the fourth. This is not more singular than that it should have produced the Phalaecean (≡ — — — — — — — — — —) in the same stage or a choriambic trimeter in the fifth. To us the Phalaecean seems unobjectionable, since we moderns are prone to iambic rhythm, but this has really nothing to do with the matter. The process might be carried on continuously, as we have seen, to the extent of a tetrameter (dimeter+dimeter) or pentameter (trimeter+dimeter). The choriambic tetrameters in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 483 ff.:

δεινὰ μὲν οὖν, δεινὰ ταραάσ|σει σοφὸς οἰωνοθέτας,
 οὔτε δοκοῦντ' οὔτ' ἀποφά|σκονθ'· ὃ τι λέξω δ' ἀπορῶ—

are not more normal than the Asclepiadean tetrameter. The latter, indeed, is a singularly compact verse. When namely we compare two tetrameters such as:

ἐμὸς καὶ τὰ μέγιστ' ἐτι|μάθης, ταῖς μεγάλαισιν ἐν
 — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — (O.T. 1202)

and

ὃς μὴδ' οἶνοχύτου πῶμα|τος ἦσθη δεκέτει χρόνῳ
 — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — (Ph. 715)

we feel the superior cohesion of the latter, which abandons the ordinary Glyconic ascending cadence at the close of the first dimeter.²

Von Wilamowitz adds to the statement already quoted that the very nature of the antispast forbids its employment in verse-building, since a *long syllable*

¹ Hermann wondered that Burney and Gaisford had not forthwith seen that *he* was right and the Greek grammarians wrong, and takes them roundly to task (*Elementa*, pp. 222, 225 f.), but even Hermann did not deny that there was such a foot as the antispast (*Ibid.* p. 76).

² These chance to be the forms of the two tetrameters by which Hermann attempted to establish his position that such verses are choriambic with antecedent 'basis' (*Elementa*, pp. 223 ff.). He proposes four questions to Antispasticians, to which he thinks there is no answer: (i) Why may not the first half of

each antispastic metre (syzygy) begin with the variable dissyllable (οο)? (ii) How is the variable dissyllable to be accounted for at the beginning of even the first metre? (iii) Why are the metres that follow the first always purely antispastic and not disjunctive or composed of the first (— — — —) or fourth (— — — —) epitrite? (iv) Why may not the last 'iambic' metre also be antispastic like the others? "Ad has omnes quaestiones nihil est quod respondere isti possint"! But all these questions are satisfactorily answered, I think, if one accepts the theory of the origin of Aeolic verse presented above.

may be substituted for each of its shorts ($\equiv - - \equiv$).¹ This is a rash allegation. Surprising as it may seem, it does not hold when the antispast is found as the first metre of the Glyconic or Phalaecean. These both begin with $o o - \sim$, and the last syllable of the metre is invariably short. It holds only for the first metre of the polyschematist dimeter ($o o o o - \sim - \sim$) or trimeter ($o o o o - \sim - \sim - \sim - \sim$ or $o o o o - \sim - \sim - \sim - \sim$, p. 295), and here the doctrine applies equally to the double iamb, double trochee and choriamb, when they appear in the first metre. In these also 'a long syllable may be substituted for a short' ($\equiv - \equiv -$, $- \equiv - \equiv$, $- \equiv - \equiv$). This, of course, is only an unfortunate way of saying that the first still unformed ($o o o o$) metre of this dimeter and trimeter may be represented by four long syllables (as well as by many others, p. 293). Nor does the statement that longs may be substituted for the shorts of the antispast hold, in any form of verse, in the second metre. Observe the question at issue. The lesser Asclepiadean, it is alleged, may not be regarded as a single trimetrical colon ($o o - \sim - \sim - \sim - \sim - \sim$), but must be made to consist of two cola ($o o - \sim - \sim | - \sim - \sim - \sim$), since on the first supposition its second metre would be the antispast, and the antispast, since longs may be substituted for its shorts, may not be used in verse-building. But in no Asclepiadean, whether trimeter, tetrameter or pentameter, has the foot that is objected to any other form than $\sim - - \sim$. It is never convertible with $- - - -$. On the contrary, it is separated in the sharpest possible manner from twelve of the forms that the unregulated first metre of the dimeter or trimeter might assume (p. 293), and associated closely with the other three, and only with the other three. Namely, by the law of the verse, the only possible combinations that the second four syllables may assume in Aeolic trimeters are $- \sim - \sim$, $- \sim - \sim$, $\sim - - \sim$, $\sim - - \sim$. Now surely the claim of $- \sim - \sim$, $- \sim - \sim$, $\sim - - \sim$, in Aeolic verse, to special consideration as distinct metrical elements is no greater than that of $\sim - - \sim$, and it is manifestly inconsistent to dismember this colon when it has the form $o o - \sim - \sim - \sim - \sim - \sim$, but to regard each of its other possible forms (p. 295) as a single trimetrical $\pi\acute{o}\upsilon\varsigma$.

None of the modern metricians, of course, who reject the Apel-Böckh-Westphal 'logaoedic' theory of Aeolic verse denies the existence of $\sim - - \sim$ as a metrical combination found in the first metre. Many instances of its occurrence in the first metre have already been quoted incidentally in the course of this discussion, but it may be well to illustrate the fact systematically by examples before passing finally to the brief consideration of the only inherent objection that, so far as I know, has been lodged against the antispast.

The antispast is one of the possible forms of the first metre, not only of the true Glyconic, *ἐπεὶ πολλὰ μὲν αἱ μακρὰ* (*O.C.* 1215), and of the Phalaecean,

¹ "Er is dazu unbrauchbar, da der Natur nach statt jeder der beiden Kürzen eine Lange eintreten kann" (*Choriambische Dimeter*, p. 888). Cf. Hermann: "Porro quid est, cur syzygiae, quae sequuntur primam, purum semper antispastum, neque etiam vel dis-

pondeum, vel primum quartumve epitritum recipiant, qui pedes, quia per numeri legem et in principio et in fine antispasti syllaba anceps locum habet, non apparet quare exclusi sint" (*Elementa*, p. 223).

θοῶν ὠκυάλων νεῶν, ὅτ' Αἴας (*Ant.* 710), but also of the polyschematist dimeter, ἐφάνθης ποτ', ὦ χρυσέας (*Ant.* 103), and trimeter (Pindaricum), χορεύουσι τὸν ταμίαν Ἰακχον (*Ant.* 1153 f.). Von Wilamowitz himself cites, in illustration, the last verses of the first epode of Pindar's second Pythian Ode:

| | |
|--|-----------|
| παντᾶ κυλινδόμενον | — — — — — |
| τὸν εὐεργέταν ἀγαναῖς | — — — — — |
| ἀμοιβαῖς ἐποικομένους τίνεσθαι (vv. 23 f.) | — — — — — |

Compare also the following in the *Heracles* of Euripides:

| | |
|--|------------------------|
| εἰς αὐγας πάλιν ἀλίου | — — — — — |
| δισσοὺς ἂν ἔβαν διαύ- | — — — — — |
| λους, ἃ δυσγένεια δ' ἀπλοῦν | — — — — — |
| ἂν εἶχεν ξοῆς στάδιον | — — — — — |
| καὶ τῷδ' ἦν τοὺς τε κακοὺς | — — — — — |
| ἂν γνῶναι καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς (vv. 661-666) | — — — — — ¹ |

With the third and fourth cola of the lyric period just quoted (663, 664) compare the following tetrameter² (*Eur. Hel.* 1305 f.):

| | |
|--------------------------|-----------|
| βαρύβρομόν τε κῦμ' ἄλιον | — — — — — |
| πόθω τᾶς ἀποικομένας | — — — — — |

Compare also the following lyric strophe in Aeschylus:

Supplices, 57-62 = 63-68.

| | |
|----------------------------------|-----------|
| εἰ δὲ κυρεῖ τις πέλας οἰωνοπόλων | — — — — — |
| ἐγγαῖος οἶκτον ἀ- | — — — — — |
| ίων, δοξάσει τις ἀκού- | — — — — — |
| ειν ὅπα τᾶς Τηρεΐας | — — — — — |
| μήτιδος οἰκτρᾶς ἀλόχου | — — — — — |
| κιρκηλάτας ἀηδόνο ³ | — — — — — |

¹ I give von Wilamowitz's text but not his cola. In his commentary (*Herakles*² ii., p. 145), he declares that synaphea is nowhere probable in this period, since, if 663, 664 (ἃ δυσγένεια . . . στάδιον, as he divides the period) were joined, the division of the resulting tetrameter would have to be — — — — —, and adds "man müsste so abteilen, weil in glykonean für die abteilung der zusammenstoss der betonten sylben entscheidend ist." The example is not a fortunate illustration of his doctrine, since nobody can deny that — — — — — may occur in the first metre of the 'choriambic' dimeter, but it is important to note the ground of his objection.

² Quoted by von Wilamowitz in his *Choriambische Dimeter*, p. 871, in illustration of the forms of the 'choriambic' (polyschematist) dimeter, and analyzed in just the form here given.

³ Cf. Schröder's analysis in his *Aeschyl's Cantica*, p. 1. The antispast at the beginning of the third colon is, of course, unobjectionable, but he makes

ἐγγαῖος . . . ἄων dodrans (— · — — — —) + diiamb and δοξάσει . . . τᾶς dodrans + choriamb. It is instructive to note how Schröder disposes of the Asclepiadeans in Sophocles. He recognizes the trimeter (but assumes division into two cola), tetrameter (— — — — — | — — — — — | — — — — — | — — — — — *Ph.* 175), and pentameter (— — — — — | — — — — — | — — — — — | — — — — — *O.C.* 176 f., 510 f.). To the trimeter in *Ant.* 944 he gives the value of six theses, but seven to 945 f., 949, 951 (— — — — — | — — — — — · — — — — —). As an alternative he proposes minor Ionic scansion of 944-951 (*Cantica*, p. 18) with frequent use of the forms — — — — —, — — — — —, and — — — — —. Minor Ionics (which belong, it should be noted, to Ionian rhythm) offer at times a ready resource, if one would escape the antispast, but, as will be seen (p. 309), one only leaps by the use of this device from one difficulty into another. Von Wilamowitz (*Choriambische Dimeter*, p. 894) analyzes the catalectic Asclepiadean trimeters in *Arist. Eq.* 559 f. (a purely Aeolic ode) as

If now the antispast is found in apparently good standing as the first metre in Aeolic dimeters and trimeters, the reason must be cogent for rejecting it as unrhythmical in the following metres. What is the ground for dismembering the Asclepiadeans and saying that the Asclepiadean trimeter, for example, is not a single colon, but is composed of the two cola $\circ \circ - \cup -$ and $- \cup \cup - \cup -$?¹ Only one reason has been given, so far as I am aware,—the conjunction of theses ($- - -$). Hermann noted this juxtaposition of long syllables in the antispast long ago and thought it objectionable, but he did not regard this as sufficient reason for denying the existence of the foot. The foot existed and had its own peculiar rhythm, but in his judgment this was harsh (there is no proof that Greeks thus regarded it), and he got rid of it wherever he could.² His 'basis' enabled him to make the Asclepiadeans choriambic.

More recent writers on Greek metre go further and deny the existence of the antispast as a foot. Von Wilamowitz alleges that it is simply one of the possible forms of the unregulated first metre of the polyschematist dimeter, but it has just been shown that this statement does not hold when the antispast occurs as the first metre of the Glyconic and Phalaecean. The objection of these writers, if exactly formulated, would probably be stated as follows: Two stressed syllables may not be brought into juxtaposition within the same metre.³ This assumes that there was such a characteristic as stress, in the modern sense, in Greek verse, which is extremely doubtful.⁴ But, stating the doctrine in a form that is unobjectionable, what proof can be produced that Greeks objected to the conjunction of two theses within the same metre? Hermann, we have just seen, was more cautious than his successors. Probably he bore in mind a fact that fatally invalidates their doctrine, the fact namely that *theses are conjoined within the metre in all major and minor Ionic verse.*

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'steigende Ioniker' ($- - - \cup \cup - - \cup \cup - \cup$). But, taking the variable forms of the first metre in Asclepiadeans ($\cup - - \cup$) into account, what defence can be made of Ionic trimeters in which the first metre is $\cup - -$ or $- \cup -$? It is obvious, of course, that Ionic scansion of the catalectic Asclepiadean trimeter is impossible. Schröder analyzes the Asclepiadeans in *O.C.* 694-706 (p. 305 above), which chance to be all catalectic except one, as Ionics, reading *alēv* instead of *els alēv* (cod. L) in 703 f. Yet the second verse in the lyric, *οὐδ' . . . βλαστὸν*, has exactly the same metrical constitution as *O.C.* 176 f., 510, which he scans differently (see above). He regards *Tr.* 851 f. (*ἀδ' . . . ἄρην*), an acephalous Asclepiadean pentameter, as composed of *major* Ionics (in the drama!), the series closing with the molossus.

¹ Dodrants or sesquimeters, to use Schröder's phraseology. See *Philologus* (1903), p. 162, note,

and *Vorarbeiten*, pp. 107 ff. Von Wilamowitz uses as models of these hexasyllabic phrases Horace's line *Maecenas atavis edite regibus*, dividing it in halves. Under this theory of analysis the greater Asclepiadean (a tetrameter) becomes $\circ \circ - \cup \cup - | - \cup \cup - | - \cup \cup - \cup -$, with a single forlorn choriamb marooned in the middle of the verse.

² "sed quoniam ea compositio sic facta est, ut duae arses [theses] sibi proximae sint, longe vehementiorem ille et asperiores incessum habet, quam Creticus" (*Elementa*, p. 76).

³ See the quotation from von Wilamowitz on p. 308, note ("zusammenstoss der betonten sylben").

⁴ 'Ictus,' in the sense of *stress*, plays a great rôle in modern books on Greek and Roman metre, but see Goodell's consideration of the evidence in his *Chapters on Greek Metric* (1901), pp. 155 ff.

THE MADRID MS OF MANILIVS.

HAVING read Prof. Housman's article in the *Classical Quarterly* of October 1907, it seemed to me worth while, when I was in Madrid last year, to examine the MS of Manilius, *Matritensis* 31, in those places where Prof. Housman notes that the testimony of Loewe and of Mr Ellis disagree, with the result that I have found LOEWE'S account of the reading, as given by Prof. Housman, to be correct in all places except the following:

(*C.Q.* Vol. i. p. 293) ii. 150 ϵ [*not t nor τ*].¹ iv. 341 lucidus[?]²
corr. i m. in luculus. 879 nutricia. (p. 294) v. 577 itritus.

(p. 294) i. 340 plurima. 2 m. in marg. plumea.³ ii. 906 nictantis[?].
 iii. 43 Title DEATLIS⁴. iv. 652 predat^r [=predatur].

i. 622 stringit [que om.]. 776 metor.⁵ iv. 470 a decuma nec.

(p. 295) ii. 399 ualent [*not* manent]. iv. 750 e sirae.

I add the following notes:

(p. 293) iii. 294 Probably *tue* or *iue* rather than *nie* or *me*, but all are possible. iv. 495 iūta: in this MS=iunta.

(p. 294) i. 808 Quidq'. iii. 136 q q. ii. 681 atque *Ellis*: utque *Loewe*; the reference is apparently wrong and I failed to identify the passage. v. 70 acutis, certainly; but so written as to suggest *auitis*.

u cannot always be certainly distinguished from *n* in this MS, but I disagree with Loewe in the following points: i. 746 lumna (rather than limina), iii. 674 capricornie, iv. 787 fluitautem, iv. 492 noua, iv. 576 biligni, iv. 800 enphartes, iv. 804 aeterius.

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¹The same letter and form of contraction occur l. 164 *His iuncta manent*.

²It is open to doubt whether the original letter was *d*.

³So written as to resemble *pluraca*.

⁴Resembles DFATIS not DEFATIS.

⁵But some apparently later hand *m'etor*, seemingly reading as *nictor* or *victor*.

NOTES ON LONGINVS, *DE SVBLIMITATE*.

C. 4. § 4. οἶον δὲ Ἡράκλεις τὸ τὰς ἀπάντων ἐξῆς κόρας αἰσχυνηλὰς εἶναι πεπεῖσθαι, ὅπου φασὶν οὐδενὶ οὕτως ἐνσημαίνεσθαι τήν τινων ἀναίδειαν ὡς † ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἱταμόν.

I propose ὡς ἐὰν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς <ῆ τι> ἱταμόν. It may be noted that Longinus does not avoid hiatus after the vowels υ and ι, which possess an easy 'glide' accompaniment.

C. 10 (fin.). λυμαίνεται γὰρ ταῦτα (sc. τὰ φλοιώδη καὶ ἄσεμνα καὶ σχολικά) τὸ ὄλον, ὡσανεὶ ψύγματα ἢ ἀραιώματα ἐμποιοῦντα μεγέθη συνοικονομούμενα τῇ πρὸς ἄλληλα σχέσει συντετειχισμένα.

Read, I think, . . . ἢ ἀραιώματα ἐμποιοῦντα <δεῖ γὰρ πυκνοῦν τὰ> μεγέθη κ.τ.λ. The loss was due to the homoeoteleuton -ουντα.

[May I incidentally point out 'in usum editorum' an expression in Aul. Gell. 1. 3 'minimaque illa labes et *quasi lacuna* famae *munimentis* partarum amico utilitatum *solidatur*'?]

C. 30. § 20. ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν ἡ τῶν κυρίων καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶν ὀνομάτων ἐκλογὴ θαυμαστῶς ἄγει καὶ κατακληεῖ τοὺς ἀκούοντας, καὶ ὡς πᾶσι τοῖς ῥήτορσι καὶ συγγραφεῦσι κατ' ἄκρον ἐπιτήδευμα, μέγεθος ἅμα κάλλος εὐπίνειαν βάρος ἰσχὺν κράτος, ἔτι δὲ †τᾶλλ' ἂν ᾧσί τινα, τοῖς λόγοις ὥσπερ ἀγάλμασι καλλίστοις δι' αὐτῆς ἐπανθεῖν παρασκευάζουσα, καὶ οἶονεὶ ψυχὴν τινα τοῖς πράγμασι φωνητικὴν ἐντιθεῖσα, μὴ καὶ περιττὸν ἢ πρὸς εἰδότης διεξίεναι.

The feebleness of the expression ἔτι δὲ τᾶλλ' ἂν ᾧσί τινα needs no demonstration, even if we pass over the anomalous plural ᾧσι, which is quite unlike Longinus. A reference to the critical apparatus will, however, shew that the reading has no claims whatever to a place in the text. It is but a bad conjecture of Manutius for . . . τ' ἂν ᾧσί τινα. I hardly think it requires much argumentation to persuade the reader that what Longinus wrote was ἔτι δὲ γάνωσίν τινα.

The connexion of γάνωσις with statues renders—I venture to think—this emendation quite certain.

C. 32. (init.). περὶ δὲ πλήθους καὶ * * μεταφορῶν ὁ μὲν Κεκίλιος ἔοικε συγκατατίθεσθαι τοῖς δύο ἢ τὸ πλεῖστον τρεῖς ἐπὶ ταύτου νομοθετοῦσι τάττεσθαι ὁ γὰρ Δημοσθένης ὅρος καὶ τῶν τοιούτων.

He then proceeds to shew that Demosthenes follows no such mechanical rule. What then is γὰρ? No editor explains it. This is pretty obviously one of the passages in which Longinus attacks Caecilius. I should read <οὐκ εἶ> ἔοικε συγκατατίθεσθαι or, better still perhaps, ἔοικεν <οὐκ εἶ> συγκατατίθεσθαι. The loss of ουκεν after οικεν explains itself, especially as συ- follows.

The word most easily lost before μεταφορῶν is no such word as τόλμης (for why should that disappear?), but rather <μέτρον>.

T. G. TUCKER.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

Journal of Philology. Vol. 31. No. 61. 1908.

Emendations and Explanations, Walter Headlam. *Plutarch, Cebes and Hermas*, J. M. Cotterill and C. Taylor. *On Martial VII. 79 and XII. 55*, A. E. Housman. *Adversaria VI.*, Robinson Ellis. *Veritatis Pater*, C. Taylor. *Notes on Catullus and Lucretius*, H. W. Garrod. *Metempsychosis and Variation in Species in Plato*, R. D. Archer-Hind. *On Aristotle, Physics, Z ix. 239^b33-240^a18 (Zeno's Fourth Argument against Motion)*, R. K. Gaye. *The Battle of Lake Trasimene*, Thomas Ashby. *Tacitus as a Military Historian in the Histories*, E. G. Hardy.

Hermathena. No. 34.

Notes on Vobiscus, L. C. Purser. [*Collation of two Irish Versions of the Book of Psalms*, T. K. Abbott]. *Notes on the 'Acharneis'*, W. J. M. Starkie. [*The Absolute in Ethics*, Alex. R. Eagar]. *A Synopsis, Analytical and Quotational, of the Verbal Forms in the Baskish New Testament printed at La Rochelle in 1571*, Edward Spencer Dodgson. *A Book of Greek Verse* (by Walter Headlam), R. Y. Tyrrell. *The Sayings of Simonides*, J. Gilbert Smyly. *Aristotle Ethics Book VII.* Gerard A. Exham. *Notes*, George W. Mooney. *M. Manilii Astronomica*, Robinson Ellis. *The Chronology of Eusebius's Martyrs of Palestine*, H. J. Lawlor. *'Sprechtempo' or Phonetic Law*, Charles Exon.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. 29, No. 3. 1908.

Stahl's Syntax of the Greek Verb (First Article), Basil L. Gildersleeve. *Accentual Clausulae in Greek Prose of the First and Second Centuries of our Era*, G. L. Hendrickson. *The Accusative of Exclamation in Plautus and Terence*, Roy C. Flickinger. *Cicero pro Sulla* 18. 52, H. C. Nutting. *Ulpian O KEITOYKEITOS*, Charles N. Smiley. *The Greek Dictys*, Nathaniel E. Griffin. *Contraction in the Case Forms of Deus and Meus, Is and Idem. A Study of Contraction in Latin io- and eo-, iā- and eā- Stems*, Robert S. Radford. Reviews: Bright's *Evangelium secundum Johannem*, Huyshe's *Beowulf* and Thorndike's *Tragedy*, James M. Garrett. *The Cattle Raid of Cooley* (Faraday, Windisch, de Jubainville), John L. Gerig. Summaries of Periodicals. Brief Mention: Marx on Metric, the Editor. Leutner on οἶτος, ὄδε and ἐκεῖνος, the Editor and C. W. E. M. Pais's *Ancient Italy* (trans. Curtis), H. L. W.

No. 4.

Stahl's Syntax of the Greek Verb (Second Article), Basil L. Gildersleeve. *The Plot of Menander's Epitrepontes*, Edward Capps. *Gildas Libellus Querulus de excidio Britannorum as a Source of Glosses in the Cottoniensis (Cleopatra A, III. = W. W. 338-473) and in the Corpus Glossary*, Otto B. Schlutter. *Virgil's Fourth Eclogue—An Overlooked Source*, Robert T. Kerlin. *A New Rhodian Inscription*, T. Leslie Shaar. Reviews: Marx's *Lucilius* and Cichorius's *Untersuchungen zu Lucilius*, Charles Knapp. Tourain's *Les Cultes*

Paiens dans l'Empire Romain, Clifford Herschel Moore. Denison's *Nauatl or Mexican in Aryan Phonology*, Edwin W. Fay. Summaries of Periodicals. Brief Mention: Sandys's *History of Classical Scholarship*, Vahlen's *Opuscula Academica*, etc., the Editor. Obituary notices: Eduard v. Wölfflin (John C. Rolfe), Hiram Bingham, William Churchill.

Classical Philology. Vol. 3. No. 3. 1908.

De Euripides Sthenoboea, Ulrich v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff. *The Manuscripts of Catullus*, William Gardner Hale. *On Some Passages of Catullus and Martial*, J. P. Postgate. *The Palm of Victory*, F. B. Tarbell. *The MSS. of the Historia Augusta*, Susan H. Ballon. *The Tabula Valeria and the Tabula Sestia*, Charles J. O'Connor. A New MS. of Cicero's *De Senectute*, George Reeves Throop. *Livy's use of Neque and Neve with an Imperative or Subjunctive*, E. B. Lease. *The Chronology of Early Rome*, H. A. Sanders. Notes and Discussions: *Varia*, Campbell Bonner. *Notes on the Epitrepontes of Menander*, A. G. Laird. *Two Notes on Latin Satire*, George Converse Fisk. *Juvenal*, I. 7-9, S. B. Platner. *Ovid Fasti* IV. 209, W. E. D. Downes. *Note on Plato Philebus* 11 B, c and *Notes on the Text of Simplicius De Caelo*, P. Shorey. Reviews: Radermacher's *Quintiliani Inst. Or.*, W. Peterson. Renkema's *Observationes criticae et exegeticae ad Valerii Flacci Argonautica*, Robinson Ellis. Blass's *Eumenides*, P. Shorey. Ausfeld-Kröll, *Der griech. Alexanderroman*, W. S. Ferguson. Ihm's *Suetonius*, A. A. Howard. Grenfell-Hunt's *Hibeh Papyri*, E. J. Goodspeed. Schroeder's *Sophoclis Cantica*, P. Shorey. Jordan-Huelsen's *Topographie d. Stadt Rom in Altertum*, S. B. Platner. Busolt's *griech. Geschichte*, R. J. Bonner. Nitsche's *Demosthenes u. Anaximenes*, Th. C. Burgess. Shawyer's *Menexenus of Plato*, W. A. Heidel. Herkenrath's *Der Enoplios*, P. Shorey. Mayser's *Grammatik der griech. Papyri*, C. D. Buck. Meillet's *De quelques innovations de la déclinaison latine* and Passy's *Petite phonétique comparée*, C. D. Buck. Nairn's *Chrysostom's De Sacerdotio*, E. J. Goodspeed. Miller's *Tragedies of Seneca*, D. Magie. Lermann's *Altgriech. Plastik* and Collignon's *Scopas et Praxitéle*, F. J. Tarbell. Emerson's *Catalogue of Art Institute of Chicago*, G. H. Chase.

No. 4. 1908.

Is there a Science of Classical Philology? Francis W. Kelsey. The Athenian Calendar, W. S. Ferguson. *The Use and Effect of Attic Seals*, Robert J. Bonner. *The Origin of Quin-Clauses*, Frank Hamilton Fowler. *Karanis Accounts*, Edgar J. Goodspeed. *Notes on Greek Etymology*, E. H. Sturtevant. Notes and Discussions: *The Introductory Epistle to the Eighth Book of Caesar's Gallic War*, J. S. Reid. *Catullus* LXIV. 382 ff., J. P. Postgate. *Note on Plato Rep.* 387 c, *Emendations of Themistius's Paraphrase of Aristotle's Physics*, Paul Shorey. Reviews: Weber's *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, H. A. Sanders. Pais-Curtis' *Ancient Italy*, G. W. Botsford. Seymour's *Life in the Homeric Age*, G. Norlin. *Inscriptiones ad res Romanas pertinentes*, E. Capps. Holmes' *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar*, W. Dennison. Hense's *Die Modifizierung der Maske in der griech. Tragödie*, F. L. Hutson. Modugno's *Il concetto della vita nella Filosofia graeca*, P. Shorey. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf et al.: *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, Teil I. 8, C. W. Peppler. Finsler's *Platon und die Aristotelischen Poetik*, P. Shorey. Marchant-Underhill's *Xenophon's Hellenica*, A. G. Laird. Cumont's *Les Religions dans le paganisme romain*, G. Showerman. Robinson's *Ancient Sinope*, W. L. Westermann. Altmann's *Die italischen Rundbauten*, S. B. Platner. Short Index to vol. 3.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 32. No. 1. 1908.

Observations on Plautus, L. Havet. On *Ep.* 9, 15, 24 and 26; 29 and 31, 44, 57, 65; 47, 48 and 50; 61, 67-8; 75-6, 177; 90, 126, 130-1, 136, 140, (153-4), 204 (243 and

251), 279, (293-5), (299), (340), 361, 364-5, (399), (474), 477, (520), 531, (554), 585-6, 624, 625, (632-3), (640), 668, 679, (and *Trin.* 979), 714. *Note on the Knights* 595 sqq. Georges Nicole. The στρώματα are horse cloths used for couch spreads. *Note on a little known MS. of Plutarch's Lives*, (at Lavra Athos), D. Serruys. *Corrections in Bellermann's Anonymi Scriptio de Musica*, C. E. Ruelle. *Divina Philippica*, Salomon Reinach. Lucan VII. 40 sqq. are explained by Cic. *Phil.* II. 26, a speech by which the poet was much influenced. *The Property Variations in the Classes of Solon*, E. Cavaignac. A table is added for the holdings of the three first Classes for the dates (1) to circ. 590, (2) the sixth cent., (3) circ. 480, (4) circ. 427. *The alleged employment of si as interrogative in Latin*, Félix Gaffiot. Re-examination of certain instances still advanced for the usage. 'uisam si domi est' means 'I will see him, if he is at home,' 'uide si tibi satis placet' *Pers.* 826 'look now, if indeed you wish to' (ironical). In such cases the *si* sentence does not strictly condition the principal one but explains and defines it; thus in Hor. *Ep.* i. 7. 39 'inspice, si possum donata reponere laetus' means 'Fais attention à tout cela, dans l'hypothèse que je suis capable de rendre—les présents reçus,' i.e. 'Fais attention, car.' The conditional is 'la raison d'être' of the invitation to attention. The *subj.* is used when potentiality or subjectivity is to be pressed. *The iterative subjunctive error, Addendum to cum-causal*, the same. The notion of repetition is denied in a number of passages. In Tac. *Hist.* i. 10. 7 'Nimiae voluptates cum vacaret; quotiens expedierat, magnae virtutes' and elsewhere cum may be aptly rendered *du moment que*. *Critical Note on Tac. Dial.* 16, René Pichon. For fama l. iam. Horace's judgment on Virgil, the same. Supports L. Bayard's view that in S. i. 10. 44 'molle atque facetum' agrees with *epos*=hexameter. *Critical Notes on Livy* (xxi. 30. 7, xxii. 58. 7, xxiv. 25. 8, xxviii. 42. 6, 44. 4, xxix. 27. 2), the same. *Notes on Menander*, P. Mazon. On *Epitrepontes* 1-3, 138-40, 145-53, 156-8, 226-8; *Sam.* 15, 55, 68-71, 82-6, 97-105, 136, 159, 160, 176 sqq., 228 sq. *Notes on the Arbitration of Menander*, the same. I. On Menander's borrowings from Tragedy. Details of the ἀναγνώρισις are from the *Alope* of Eur. II. Notes on the text 44, 53, 57-8, 85 sqq., 106, 304, 419-23, 454-8. Reviews.

No. 2. 1908.

Upon *Sophocles and Hippocrates*, Jean Psichari. The medical knowledge of Sophocles as shown in the *Philoctetes* (and in the *Ajax*) has not been properly appreciated. Chronology does not forbid the supposition that he was influenced in the *Philoctetes* (B.C. 409) by Hippocrates (born in 460 or more probably 470), whose works throw light on obscure or misunderstood expressions in the play. Such are στᾶξει αἷμα (783-4) 'blood dropping,' a bad sign contrasted with παρέρρωγεν αἱμορραγῆς φλέψ (824-5) of the gush of blood which showed that the crisis was past. Sophocles's presentation of the symptoms and details of Phil.'s malady is examined and its technical correctness in general established. *New Greek Papyri from Elephantine*, A. Bouché-Leclercq. These show us that (1) Ptolemy Soter counted his reign from Alexander's death; (2) his reign lasted officially to the 41st year; (3) his association of his son in the kingship two years before his death was no formal abdication; (4) it was he, not a successor, who established the worship of Alexander; (5) a special priesthood (eponymous) was founded in his reign not later than 289-8. *Palmomancy*, C. S. Ruelle. Observations on the treatise of the so-called 'Melampus on twitchings (παλμοί), three versions of which (in Par. 2118, in Par. 2157 in a third work attributed to Hermes Trismegistos) have been recognised by Diels. Specimens are given. Aristides Quintil. π. μουσικῆς p. 117 l. 17 (Meib.), the same. For τεταρτημορίοις l. μορίοις. Two lexicons by Theophylact of Bulgaria, D. Serruys. Account of MS. No. 676 Greek Supplementary Catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Firmicus Maternus IV. pref. 5, the same. Read 'quae Aesculapio Mercurius <et> Hermanubius tradiderunt.' *Inscription of Amorgos*. *Law of Aegiale*, R. Dareste. Greek text and translation. Κοιρανίδες, D. Serruys.

These *Cyranides* are to be understood as a Hermetic treatise, meaning 'the revelations of the two κοίρανοι.' Reviews.

No. 3. 1908.

Villoison's Greek Palaeography, Charles Joret. It was never written. *Observations on Plautus*, Louis Havet. *Men.* (82, 85, 89, 92, 94, 105; 98), 152, (154-8, 179-81, 184-8, 202; 219), 300, 379-80, 399, 418, 431, 446, (581), 667, (680), 681, 740, 778, 796, (800), 828 and *Capt.* 594 (*loculus* is to be read in both places), *Men.* 1013 and *Rud.* 656, *Men.* 1069, (1076), 1091, 1112, 1144, (1151), 1160-1. Κέλμυς ἐν σιδήρῳ, Henri Grégoire. The passage of Zenobius in *Paroemiographi Graeci* (iv. 80) giving a curious legend about the origin of iron (*Revue* 29. 293-5) is to be restored Κέλμυς γὰρ . . . ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν <πε>φονευμένους (MSS. εὐμνῶς) <ἐτάφη> ἐν Ἰδῇ ἀφ' οὗ ὁ στερεώτατος ἐγένετο σίδηρος. *Remarks on the diction of Vitruvius*, Victor Mortet. A general estimate with observations on details. *The probable date of Q. Curtius*, René Pichon. He may be placed in the age of Constantine. *On an Inscription of Ashmounêin* (Hermoupolis Magna) J. Lesquier. Text (with notes) of a Greek inscr. of military interest. *Vettius Valens vii. pref.* (p. 263, 20 Kroll), F. Cumont. L. τῶν τε <ε> λοιπῶν ἀστέρων 'the 5 planets after the Sun and Moon.' Reviews.

Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione Classica. Vol. 36. No. 4. 1908.

'Numerus' and *Fronto*, Achille Beltrami. Examination, on Zielinski's principles, of Fronto's rhythmical peculiarities. *Greek and Latin Etymologies* (continued), Oreste Nazari. *cūra* (*cūrāre*). From Italic *koi-sā*, noun-stem from I.E. *qhi*, strong form *qhoi*, Skt. *khyāti* 'see, observe.' List of examples of Latin *tenues* for I.E. *tenues aspiratae*. *immānis* 'unthinkably great' is from *in-mñ-i-s* from I.E. *men* (*mens* etc., μμνήσκω etc.), *indutiae* is from *in-dūtus*, a participial form from I.E. *duā*: *dū* (*doṃā*: *dōu*) 'lengthen' (Gk. δῆν, δηρόν, Skt. *dūrās*, L. *dūdum*, *dūrus*), and means the days during which warlike operations were prolonged or arrested. *liberī* goes back to I.E. *leubh-er-o* (*leubh*, 'desire'), cf. Sk. *nanda-s* 'joy, son,' but *liber*=ἐλεύθερος to I.E. *leudh-er-o*. *mel*, μέλι, cf. Skt. *alis* 'bee' for *mlis*, βλέπω (for *mli-tiō*). *pontifex* from Ital. *ponti-* for *pompti-* 'procession,' Gk. πομπή (*pompā*, which replaced *pomptis* in Latin). *veru* Umbr. *beru-* is from I.E. *gwer-u*, Gk. ὀβελός (cf. *rumō*, λύπη, etc.). *Two Jokes in Aristophanes*, Giorgio Pasquali. *Ach.* 156. Plays upon Σιτάλκης 'gallant trencher-man' and Ὀδόμαντροι 'tooth-valiants.' *ib.* 604, παρὰ Χάρητι. Χάρης is ὁ καταχαριζόμενος (sc. δικάζων). On Τύραννος, *usurper, king and tyrant*, Placido Cesareo. The evil sense of the word comes from the tyranny of Hippias, the Pisistratid. *On Hor.* Ep. II. 1. 141, Augusto Balsamo. 'spe finis' means 'spe laborum finis.' *Critical Notes*, Flaminio Nencini. *Plaut. Truc.* 680 should be read 'Sed dic mihi | haben'—? *TRUC.* 'pera si tumet, fortasse dicere.' *Lucr.* IV. 594 'avidum—auricularum' means 'greedy of things to hear,' as *narium*, *Hor. c.* II. 15. 6 'things to smell.' *Prop.* IV. 4. 55 'sic, hospes, patiare' etc. should be understood 'So, if you permit it, stranger, there is a queen in your palace!' Reviews: Simonetti's *Le Sintassi Greca-latina-italiana*, C. Marchesi. K. Witte's *Singular and Plural*, C. O. Zuretti. Masera's *Cenni di storia letteraria latina*, Zingerle's and Scheindler's *Selections from Livy*, Zingerle's and Albrecht's *do.*, Sedlmayer's *do.*, from *Ovid*, Klouček's *Aeneid and Selections from the Bucolics and Georgics*, Biese's *Selections from Roman elegists*, Fries's *Bellum Gallicum* (school ed.), and Penta's and Cortassa's *Dizionario sintattico del verbo e aggettivo latino*, F. Calonghi. Scheller's *Celsus* (2nd ed. by Frieboes) and Endt's *Studien zum Commentator Cruquianus*, V. Ussani. Curcio's *Poeti Latini Minori*, vol. 2, fasc. 2, E. De Marchi. Spaventa's *Da Socrate a Hegel*, Hendrickson's *On stylistic characters* (extract), Heidel's *Qualitative Change in Pre-Socratic Philosophy*, E. Bodrero. Laurand's *De M. Tulli Ciceronis studiis rhetoricis*, Ellis's *Appendix Vergiliana* and Salvagni's

Figure grammaticali, G. Curcio. Mommsen's *Historische Schriften*, Studniczka's *Tropaeum Traiani*, Schodorf's *Beiträge Zur genaueren Kenntniss der attischen Gerichtssprache aus den zehn Redern*, Colin's *Rome et la Grèce de 200 à 146 av. J.C.* and Schulten's *Numantia*, V. Costanzi. *Summaries of Periodicals*, Domenico Bassi.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1909.

1. Feb. *The Oxyrhynchos papyri*, Part VI. ed. by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (Crönert). Guil. Altwegg, *De Antiphonte qui dicitur sophista quaestionum particula I.* De libro περὶ ὁμοβολίας scripto (W. Nestle). 'A welcome contribution.' R. Wagner, *Grundzüge der griechischen Grammatik* (E. Fränkel), favourable. *Virgil* translated by J. Jackson (H. D.), 'Good English prose.' J. Samuelsson, *Der pleonastische Gebrauch von ille im Lateinischen* (C. Stegmann), favourable. E. Calvi, *Bibliografia di Roma nel medio evo* and *Supplemento I.* (Köhler), very favourable. *Sertum Nabericum* collectum a philologis Batavis (C. Wessely).

8. Feb. C. O. Müller, *Lebensbild in Briefen an seine Eltern mit dem Tagebuch seiner italienisch-griechischen Reise*, herausg. von Otto und Else Kern (A. Trendelenburg), favourable. H. Kiepert, *Formae orbis antiqui. X. Coloniae Phoenicum et Graecorum. Graecia. VII. Asia Minor.* Bearb. von R. Kiepert (F. H.). A. Fick, *Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* (C. Wessely), favourable. J. E. Harry, *A question of divination* (K. Busche). On Eur. Med. 240. *Euripide*, Les drames, traduction en vers par Ph. Martinon. Vol. II. *Les deux Iphigénies, Médée* (K. Busche). 'Very free.' M. C. Lane, *Index to the fragments of the Greek Elegiac and Iambic Poets* (J. Sitzler), favourable. J. Ax, *De anacoluthis Plautinis Terentianisque* (C. Stegmann), unfavourable. H. Leimeister, *Die griechischen Deklinationsformen bei den Dichtern Persius, Martialis und Juvenalis* (C. Stegmann), favourable. A. Mayr, *Römische Skulpturen von Nassenfels* (P. Goessler), favourable. *Der römische Limes in Österreich.* Heft. IX. (M. Ihm).

15 Feb. Guil. Kroog, *De foederis Thessalorum praetoribus* (W. Larfeld). 'Purely chronological.' Gualt. Reusch, *De manumissionum titulis apud Thessalos* (W. Larfeld), favourable. W. Deonna, *Les statues de terre cuite dans l'antiquité* (O. Rossbach). 'A very useful work.' *Chicago literary papyri* by E. J. Goodspeed (W. Crönert), favourable. P. Geigenmüller, *Quaestiones Dionysianae de vocabulis artis criticae* (G. Lehnert), favourable on the whole. J. Psichari, *Essai sur le Grec de la Septante* (E. Fränkel), favourable. K. Stuhl, *Das altrömische Arvallied ein urdeutsches Bittganggebet* (E. Zupitza). 'Not to be taken seriously.' M. Kegel, *Bruno Bauer und seine Theorien über die Entstehung des Christentums* (W. Soltau). 'Full of merit.' *Tacitus*, erkl. von Nipperdey. II. *Ab excessu Divi Augusti XI-XVI.* 6 Aufl. von G. Andresen (Ed. Wolff). Ch. Dubois, *Etude sur l'administration et l'exploitation des carrières marbre, porphyre, granit etc. dans le monde Romain* (C. Wessely), favourable. M. Besnier, *Les catacombes de Rome* (Köhler). 'A good account up to to-day.' E. A. Loew, *Die ältesten Kalendarien aus Monte Cassino* (F. K. Guizel), favourable. K. Neff, *Die Gedichte des Paulus Diaconus* (M. Manitius), very favourable.

22 Feb. J. B. O'Connor, *Chapters in the history of actors and acting in ancient Greece* (A. Müller), favourable. M. Láng, *Die Bestimmung des Onos oder Epinetron* (A. Trendelenburg), very favourable. K. Sudhoff, *Ärztliches aus griechischen Papyrusurkunden* (C. Wessely), very favourable. H. Prinz, *Funde aus Naukratis* (Köhler), very favourable. A. Fischer, *Die Stellung der Demonstrativpronomina bei lateinischen Prosaikern* (C. Stegmann), favourable. H. Schendel, *Quibus auctoribus Romanis L. Annaeus Seneca in rebus patriis usus sit* (W. Gemoll), unfavourable. M. A. Nagl, *Galla Placidia* (M. Manitius). J. Becker, *Textgeschichte Lindprands von Cremona* (M. Manitius). 'Full of matter.' W. Kroll, *Die Altertumswissenschaft im letzten Vierteljahrhundert* (J. Ziehen), favourable.

1 Mar. J. E. Sandys, *A history of classical scholarship*, Vol. II. and III. (J. Ziehen), very favourable. Sophocles, *Electre*, traduction par Ph. Martinon (H. Steinberg). R.

Berndt, *Der innere Zusammenhang der in den platonischen Dialogen Hippias minor, Laches, Charmides und Lysis aufgewiesenen Probleme* (R. Adam), favourable. E. Bignone, *Sulla discussa autenticità della raccolta delle Kύρια δόγματα di Epicuro* (W. Nestle). 'Against Usener. Deserves consideration.' K. Lehmann, *Hannibals letzter Kriegsentwurf* (Fr. Reuss), favourable. *Kaiser Julians philosophische Werke*, übersetzt von R. Asmus (Schemmel). *Libanii Opera*, rec. R. Foerster, Vol. IV. (R. Asmus), very favourable. J. S. Tunison, *Dramatic traditions of the dark ages* (J. Ziehen). 'Gives very little result.'

8 Mar. *Herodotos*, erkl. von H. Stein. 4. Band. Buch VII. 6. Aufl. (W. Gemoll). *Herodotus*, books VII. and VIII. by C. F. Smith and A. G. Laird (W. Gemoll), favourable. *Herodoti historiae*, rec. C. Hude (W. Gemoll), favourable. C. E. Millerd, *On the interpretation of Empedocles* (W. Nestle), favourable. H. Weber, *Aristophanische Studien* (W. Süss), favourable. F. Fischer, *Senatus Romanus qui fuerit Augusti temporibus* (A. Stein), favourable. A. Mau, *Pompeji*. 2. Aufl. (E. Willisch), very favourable. A. P. Ball, *Selected Essays of Seneca and the Satire of the deification of Claudius* (W. Gemoll), favourable. *The Silvae of Statius*, transl. by D. A. Slater (J. Ziehen), favourable. B. Maurenbrecher und R. Wagner, *Grundzüge der klassischen Philologie*. Bd. I. *Grundlehren der klassischen Philologie* von B. Maurenbrecher (J. Ziehen), favourable.

15 Mar. *Die Vorsokratiker in Auswahl*, übers. und herausg. von W. Nestle (Leuchtenberger), very favourable. W. Nestle, *Bemerkungen zu den Vorsokratikern und Sophisten* (Leuchtenberger), favourable. E. Loew, *Heraklit im Kampfe gegen den Logos* (W. Nestle), unfavourable. Xenophon, *Hellenica*, selections ed. by C. L. Brownson (W. Gemoll). 'A practically useful edition.' G. Gerlach, *Griechische Ehreninschriften* (W. Larfeld), favourable. *Caesar's Commentaries on the Gallic War* translated by T. Rice Holmes (H. Meusel), favourable. G. Némethy, *De epodo Horatii cataleptis Vergilii inserto* (A. Körte). 'A groundless hypothesis' F. Buck, *Seneca de beneficiis und de clementia in der Überlieferung* (W. Gemoll), very favourable. *Album palaeographicum* Tabulae LIV. selectae ex cunctis iam editis tomis codicum Graecorum et Latinorum duce Sc. de Vries (C. Wessely). *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. Generalregister zu Band I-XII. von P. Marc (J. Dräseke).

22 Mar. E. H. Hall, *The decorative art of Crete in the bronze age* (E. Wilisch), favourable. J. Eserép, *Homer's Ithakéja* (J. Csengeri). 'Against Dörpfeld, but unconvincing.' P. Boesch, *Θεωρός, Untersuchung zur Epangelie griechischer Feste* (W. Larfeld), favourable. G. Hauptmann, *Griechischen Frühling* (C. Benjamin), favourable. *Suetonii opera*. Vol. I. *de vita Caesarum* libri VIII. rec. M. Ihm. Ed. minor (Th. Opitz). J. Cornu, *Zwei Beiträge zur lateinischen Metrik* (D.), favourable. O. Keller, *Zur Geschichte de Katze* (C. Wessely), favourable. L. Píc, *Die Urnengräber Böhmens* (C. Koenen), favourable.

29 Mar. R. Hirzel, *Themis, Dike und Verwandtes* (Fr. Cauer), favourable. W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museum* (H. L. Ulrichs). 'This monumental work.' A. S. Georgiades, *Les ports de la Grèce dans l'antiquité qui subsistent encore aujourd'hui* (W. Dörpfeld). 'Will be joyfully welcomed.' K. Krumbacher, *Ein neuer Thesaurus der griechischen Sprache* (E. Fränkel), very favourable. O. Hempel, *De Varronis rerum rusticarum auctoribus quaestiones selectae* (W. Gemoll), favourable. W. Kopp, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*. 8 Aufl. von W. Niemeyer (J. Ziehen), favourable.

5 Apr. K. Dieterich, *Die präpositionalen Präfixe in der griechischen Sprachentwicklung*. I. ἀπό (E. Fränkel), favourable. *Isokrates, Ausgewählte Reden*, erkl. von R. Rauchenstein. 6 Aufl. von K. Münscher (E. Althaus), very favourable. K. E. Georges (*Kleines lateinisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch*). 9 Aufl. von H. Georges (Th. Stangl). A. Holder, *Altceltischen Sprachschatz*. Lief. 11-18 (H. Meusel). 'Answers a great need.' J. M. Heer, *Die versio latina des Barnabasbriefes* (C. W.), favourable.

12 Apr. *Philologie et Linguistique. Mélanges offerts à Louis Havet par ses anciens élèves et ses amis* (C. Wessely). W. Knodel, *Die Urbanitätsausdrücke bei Polybios* (E.

Fränkel), favourable. P. Slossarczyk, *De periodorum structura apud dactylicos Romanos veteres* (H. Sternberg), favourable. R. Mulder, *De conscientiae notione quae et qualis fuerit Romanis* (J. Ziehen), unfavourable. L. Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, herausg. von Fr. Boll. I. *Zur Paläographie und Handschriftenkunde*, herausg. von P. Lehmann. Mit biographischer Einleitung von Fr. Boll (C. Weyman), favourable. *The Hisperica Famina*, ed. by F. J. H. Jenkinson (M. Manitius), favourable. E. Spranger, *W. v. Humboldt und die Humanitätsidee* (J. Ziehen), favourable.

19 Apr. *Sophokles' Antigone*, übersetzt von O. Altendorf (R. Wagner). P. Bolchert, *Aristoteles' Erdkunde von Asien und Libyen* (P. Goessler), favourable. B. Kranz, *De particularum pro et prae in prisca latinitate vi atque usu* (F. Pradel). 'A thorough treatment.' F. Niggetiet, *De Cornelio Labeone* (J. Tolkiehn). 'A careful and useful dissertation.' H. E. Butler, *Post-Augustan poetry from Seneca to Juvenal* (J. Ziehen), very favourable. M. Jatta, *Le rappresenante figurate delle provincie romane* (J. Ziehen), favourable. J. Dräseke, *Analecta Byzantina* (J. Dräseke).

26 Apr. *Menandri quatuor fabularum fragmenta*, iter. ed. J. van Leeuwen, J. F. (K. F. W. Schmidt). 'To be warmly welcomed.' K. H. E. de Jong, *Das antike Mysterienwesen in religionsgeschichtlicher, ethnologischer und psychologischer Beleuchtung* (C. Wessely), favourable. R. Pöhlmann, *Zur Geschichte der Gracchen* (Fr. Cauer), favourable. F. A. Schöb, *Velleius Paterculus und seine literarhistorischen Abschnitte* (Th. Stangl), favourable.

3 May. M. L. D'ooge, *The Acropolis of Athens* (E. Wilisch), very favourable. W. van Esveld, *De balneis lavationibusque Graecorum* (H. Blümner). 'Very careful and thorough.' Q. Curti Rufi *historiarum Alexandri Magni libri*, iter. rec. Ed. Hedicke (W. Gemoll), favourable.

10 May. L. Straub, *Liederdichtung und Spruchweisheit der alten Hellenen in Übertragungen* (R. Wagner). H. Goekoop, *Ithaque, la Grande* (P. Goessler), unfavourable. *Oppiani Cynegetica*. Edition critique par P. Boudreaux (O. Güthling), very favourable. W. N. Stearns, *Fragments from Graeco-Jewish writers* (W. Schubart), unfavourable. D. T. Schoonover, *A study of Cn. Domitius Corbulo as found in the Annals of Tacitus* (G. Andresen), unfavourable. F. Werner, *Die Latinität der Getica des Jordanis* (Th. Stangl), favourable on the whole.

17 May. *Festschrift zur Einweihung des neuen Gymnasialgebäudes beim Kgl. Pädagogium in Putbus* (G. Andresen). P. Varese, *Cronologia Romana*. Vol. I. *Il Calendario Flaviano*. Parte prima, libri I.-II. (Soltau) unfavourable. C. Atzert, *De Cicerone interprete Graecorum* (J. Tolkiehn), unfavourable on the whole. *Ciceronis oratio pro M. Caelio*, rec. J. van Wageningen (Th. Stangl), favourable. Sk. Zervos, *Détermination des noms des auteurs de deux anciens textes médicaux* (R. Fuchs). S. Menardos, *The Value of Byzantine and Modern Greek in Hellenic studies* (G. Wartenberg), favourable.

24 May. H. Francotte, *La polis grecque. Recherches sur la formation et l'organisation des cités, des ligues et des confédérations dans la Grèce ancienne* (Fr. Cauer), favourable. A. Pfeiffauf, *Der Artikel vor Personen- und Götternamen bei Thukydides und Herodot* (Helbing). 'A rich and careful collection of examples.' M. Pohlenz, *Vom Zorne Gottes. Eine Studie über den Einfluss der griechischen Philosophie auf das alte Christentum* (Blaufuss), favourable. C. Heiter, *De patriciis gentibus quae imperii Romani saeculis I. II. III. fuerint* (Soltau), very favourable. A. Dienel, *Der Rednerdialog des Tacitus*. Text, Einleitung und Kommentar (Ed. Wolff), favourable.

31 May. A. Mayr, *Die Insel Malta im Altertum* (F. v. Duhn), very favourable. A. S. Arvanitopoulos, *Θεσσαλικά μνημεῖα* (G. Wartenberg). L. Lindhamer, *Zur Wortstellung im Griechischen* (Helbing), favourable. R. Burgkhardt, *De causa orationis adversus Spudiam Demosthenicae* (P. Uhle), very favourable. K. Prieth, *Einige Bemerkungen zu den parallelen Biographien Plutarchs* (P. Uhle), favourable. E. Baaz, *De Herodiani fontibus et auctoritate* (Fr. Reuss), rather unfavourable. *Album Terentianum picturas continens ex*

imagine phototypa Lugdunensi Terentii codicum Ambrosiani et Parisini sumptas, praef. et picturas interp. J. van Wageningen (G. Thiele). J. van Wageningen, *Scaenica Romana* (G. Theile), unfavourable. L. Sontheimer, *Vitruvius und seine Zeit* (H. Nohl), favourable. M. H. Morgan, *The preface of Vitruvius* (H. Nohl), favourable. Chr. Fassbender, *De Julii Valeri sermone quaestiones selectae* (F. Gustafsson), favourable. H. Stengel, *De Julii Valerii usu pronominum* (F. Gustafsson), favourable. B. L. Ullman, *Additions and corrections to CIL* (H. Dessau).

SPECIAL NOTICE.

THE Editor of the *Classical Quarterly* begs to draw the attention of intending contributors to the notice hereunder, which he has been requested by Professor R. S. CONWAY, Hon. Secretary of the "Classical Journals Conference," to insert in the present issue:

"At the end of 1909 the *Classical Quarterly* and *Classical Review* will cease to be published by Messrs. DAVID NUTT, LIMITED. Arrangements are in progress for their publication in connexion with the CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION and the PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETIES of OXFORD and CAMBRIDGE. Full particulars of the new arrangements will be issued to subscribers and the public at an early date.

Pending their completion the present editors will take charge of contributions intended for publication therein."

Contributions for the *Classical Quarterly* sent in accordance with the foregoing intimation should be addressed to

Professor J. P. POSTGATE, THE UNIVERSITY, LIVERPOOL,

and should be marked outside *For the "Classical Quarterly."* *Not to be forwarded.*

Contributions intended for the *Classical Review* will be received by Dr. W. H. D. ROUSE, BATEMAN HOUSE, CAMBRIDGE.

SAPPHO'S ODE TO THE NEREIDS: CORRECTIONS.

AN examination of the Papyrus shows me that the facsimile is misleading in one or two places. In l. 9 there is no trace of ϕ , and I therefore revert to Blass's $\delta\epsilon\ [\theta]\epsilon\lambda\omicron\iota$. In l. 18 the traces point to $\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\rho\eta\nu$; this necessitates $\epsilon\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\sigma\theta'$ (infin.) in l. 15.

J. M. EDMONDS.

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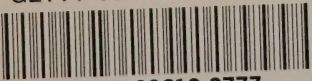
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